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ABSTRACT

This report gives a history of the 1979-80 segment of a continuing project that is designed to provide a theoretically based description of children's transition from prereading to reading, along with tools that teachers may use to assess children's emerging literacy abilities. The first chapter provides an introduction to the project, while the second chapter examines the transition from prereading to reading and discusses supports and constraints of written texts, the reading process, the discovery of relevant aspects of reading, the emergence of aspects of reading, differences in reading and writing, the nature of written texts, written texts and oral language, modes and how they differ, knowledge about written language, and sequence issues and reading acquisition. The third chapter presents the goals for two studies, one dealing with general knowledge about written language and the other analyzing topic effects in real and make-believe stories. The fourth chapter contains a description of the methods and procedures used in the two studies and the results, presented topically, by and across studies, are presented in chapter five. The final chapter summarizes and discusses the results. An examiner's guide is appended. (HOD)

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Kindergartners Begin to Read Their Own Compositions: Beginning Readers' Developing Knowledges About Written Language Project

Elizabeth Sulzby
Northwestern University

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Final Report
to the Research Foundation
of the National Council of Teachers of English

August 1981

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I also want to thank these people who have read and reacted to various parts of the manuscript: Rae Moses, Robert Gundlach, and Norman Bowers, of Northwestern University; Susanna Pflaum of the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle; and William H. Teale, from the Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition at the University of California, San Diego.

My most constant and greatest thanks go to the children, their teacher, their parents, the school, and the principal involved in this study.[1] Without their hospitality and sharing this report would not exist. Finally, I wish to thank my secretary, Joanne Williams, my friend, Barbara Schneider, and my husband, Mitchell Rouzie.

Chapter One

Introduction and Further Acknowledgements

This report is intended to give a history of the 1979-80 leg of an on-going project titled "Beginning Readers' Developing Knowledges About Written Language," being conducted at Northwestern University under the direction of Elizabeth Sulzby (see diagram, page 9). The BRDKAWL project's goal is to provide a theoretically-based description of the transition from pre-reading to reading, along with tools that teachers and other people concerned with young children may use to assess children's emerging literacy abilities. The goals of the total project will be discussed at length in the second chapter, titled "The Transition From Pre-reading to Reading: A Theoretical Perspective." During 1979-80 two studies were conducted with an intact kindergarten class of children. The two studies were called "General Knowledges About Written Language" and "Topic Effects: Real Versus Make-Believe Stories." The goals for those two studies will be presented in Chapter III. Chapter IV contains a description of the methods and procedures used in the two studies. Results are presented topically, by and across the two studies, in Chapter V. In the final chapter, the results are summarized and discussed. This chapter will be used to describe the

fit of these studies into the on-going project, "Beginning Readers' Developing Knowledges About Written Languages," and to suggest fruitful areas for continued research in early literacy.

Further Acknowledgements

I have chosen to break the reader's expectations about acknowledgements and to place part of them in the body of the report itself. Acknowledgements may be treated in two ways: (1) as a nicety preceeding the work itself; or (2) as history which traces the roots of the research. When treated as history of the research, acknowledgements become an important substantive part of the work. In this report, the intellectual roots of the research are indeed part of the research and help explain the researcher's choice of subject matter, design, analysis, and emerging theory.

When a piece of research is born in the mind of a researcher, it is common to ask what related research literature can be found concerning this question. Equally important to the creation of the research, I would argue, are the behaviors or conditions about which the curiosity arose (in this case, the way young children seem to learn to read) and attitudes and opinions of informed observers and cultivators of the behaviors and conditions (in this case, parents, teachers, and even other researchers).

I will outline some of the influences upon my work coming from those latter two sources. I do this for two reasons: (1) so the reader can understand the underlying belief system to the work and

(2) to acknowledge my indebtedness to sources in a way that the use of direct citation alone might slight. I will end with a summary of insights I have drawn from these early roots before I move on to the substance of this report.

I began the study of initial reading and writing with a great debt to children, to the teachers of children, and to school communities that tried to match children's developing knowledges about literacy in many different ways. As an elementary school reading teacher, I became convinced that we must pay attention to what children are trying to do, to children's developing concepts about written language as well as oral language.

I also owe an unpleasant debt to school personnel who seemed to regard children as receptive mechanisms to manipulate or correct. Fortunately, such people were few but observing the destructiveness of their practices also contributed to my conviction that we must honor the child's attempts to become increasingly literate.

I saw some children acquiring literacy in a most pleasant, natural way and I began to ask them: "How do you do that? Tell me what you are doing." I saw some children having extreme difficulty. From my clinical training, I first administered formal and informal tests and usually learned very little. Gradually, children taught me that the insights I gained from the first group of children was equally applicable to the second: Ask the child.

Children began to tell me about their learning and I became impressed at how consistently and unhesitatingly they mentioned their

parents. From asking rural Virginia children how they learned new words "in talking" to asking Northshore Chicago children how they learned to write, the pattern was the same: "My momma teached me." "My dad showed me how."

My second group of debts are to people who do research and writing in the fields of education, psychology, and linguistics. The debts I wish to mention, however, are not from the literature but, rather, from attitudes, beliefs, advice, experiences, and anecdotes we shared.

My graduate work was at the University of Virginia where I worked in the McGuffey Reading Center. The director of the center, Edmund Henderson, introduced me to the research in invented spelling and shared his great belief in and knowledge about a system whereby children learn to read their own compositions based upon their own experiences (the language-experience as developed by Russell Stauffer). My advisor, Thomas Estes, shared his insights in many areas, but, in regard to this study, particularly his belief in our tendency to underestimate children by viewing them from adult standards, his belief in person-to-person interaction in reading and writing development, and his constant habit of asking about children, "Why do you think they do that?"

During my graduate career, I found psychology and linguistics professors who pushed me to become more creative in the use of research design and analytic tools fitting the development of young children and the development of language. In particular, I am indebted to James Deese,

to the late Starling Reid, and to A. I. Schulman in psychology and to Hoyt Duggan, Stephen Land, and E. D. Hirsch in English and linguistics. At that time, my research was narrowed to investigating the child's concept for word, but these people influenced my continued interest in studying literacy development in unfragmented context.

I began the first piloting in the "Beginning Readers" research at Northwestern University in 1977. My final pre-study debt is to a group of kindred spirits working in the field of early literacy development. They might be called "the underground network" of early literacy. I have confined my list to those people who directly inspired my early efforts in 1977-78. Their inspiration and work has continued but later efforts will be included in actual references within the body of the work. These people include Diane DeFord, now at Southern Illinois University; Carolyn Burke, Jerome Harste, and Virginia Woodward at Indiana University; and Yetta Goodman at the University of Arizona. Here at Northwestern University I had met and been inspired by my colleagues Rae Moses, Bonnie Litowitz and Robert Gundlach.

During the early years all of our work was exploratory and very naturalistically inspired, no matter what form of elicitation we used. Research reports often existed in oral tradition alone. Many of the techniques I developed came from such oral or sketchily written reports. Where possible, I have cited specific roots, but certainly I am indebted in ways I may have forgotten but wish to acknowledge in this form.

One example of such indebtedness is hearing Jerry Harste and Carolyn Burke laugh about the difficulties of interpreting children's

compositions from the graphic products unless one had watched and taken part in the composition act. While they had not written a formal paper about research design in early literacy at that point, I feel certain that I owe to their affect as well as to their anecdotes a certain stance regarding the role of the researcher both as observer of the literacy process and as stimulus to children's increasing knowledges about literacy. Later, when I read Vygotsky's (1978) chapter, The Prehistory of Written Language, it was easy to attribute that insight to Vygotsky, but, for me, it certainly came equally strongly from those early exchanges at Indiana University.

The oral tradition contained descriptions of ways to elicit children's writing attempts by waiting for the child or by writing oneself. It was also formed as arguments about how we might prejudge and/or prestructure children's responses because we assume that children interpret labels and questions the way we intend them (a <u>letter</u> = alphabet graph or missive from Grandmother). But it also included the non-verbal affect that I mentioned accompanying Harste's and Burke's anecdotes. Part of the affect came from watching how young children approach literacy tasks, as fun, as work, as discovery, and then responding to the child's own affect.

A summary of insights I have drawn from these early roots will help the reader understand this research report and the biases and prejudices it may contain. Being consciously aware of these assumptions should help me be a more rigorous critic of my own efforts.

(1) Belief in the child as an active abstracter of knowledge

(2) Belief in the importance of person-to-person, adult-child interaction

(3) Belief in observing change in the process of happening, knowing that the research session does not control in the sense of holding conditions steady but rather sets conditions for observing certain kinds of changes in complex systems

(4) Belief in the importance of studying reading development in the context of total development (intellectual, affective, physical), not fractionating the experience

(5) Belief in the importance of studying language, especially oral language/written language likenesses and differences

(6) Belief in overlapping looks at the phenomena, "triangulating" by using overlapping research tools (naturalistic observation; structured tasks; interviews; experimental designs) and realizing that each is a product of human judgment

(7) Belief that research should be fun for "subject" and "examiner" and that both learn from each other

(8) Belief in keeping research and practice as close in form and language as possible

In describing the history of this study, I have used the word debt. To a great extent, these "debts" were gifts, freely shared by

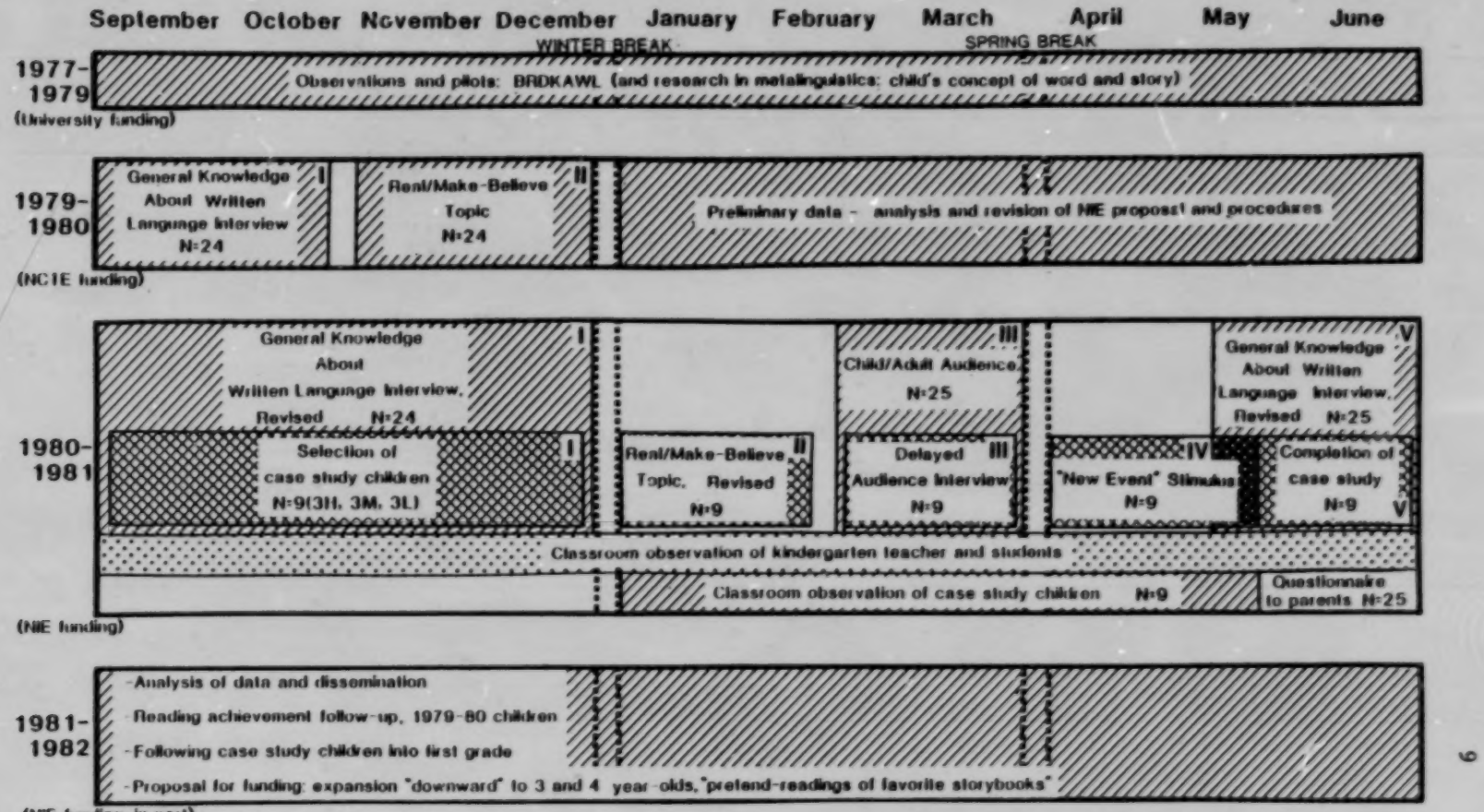
other people. Perhaps I was led to use the word debt because I feel a responsibility to give something in return. Therefore, this study is dedicated to those people and contexts I have named as well as to those persons cited formally in the body of the work. My hope is that my insights and observations of children will add to our understanding of the literacy efforts and accomplishments of young children.

PROJECT:

"Beginning Readers' Developing Knowledges About Written Language"

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Elizabeth Sulzby, Northwestern University



Chapter Two

The Transition from Pre-Reading to Reading: a Theoretical Perspective

The project, "Beginning Readers' Developing Knowledges About Written Language," or BRDKAWL, includes a description of how young children move from pre-reading to reading. I mean by that how children emerge as independent readers, able to call upon various kinds of knowledges to deal with a written text.

Supports and Constraints of Written Texts

In the 1979-80 leg of the study, the focus was upon how children become able to read their own dictated and handwritten composition. The kind of written text has been isolated in the project because it is my contention that different kinds of texts offer different supports and constraints for the beginner. They call upon the same reading process, but force the child to place emphasis upon differing aspects of the process at a time when the child is organizing different knowledges into an elegant, complex but simple system.

The Reading Process

Learning to read is simultaneously very complex and very simple. Vygotsky (1978) and others like Holdaway (1979) and Sulzby (1981) hold that acquiring written language is very complex and requires the orchestration of many new kinds of knowledge. As a teacher of reading, I have had many conversations with other teachers about how simple the teaching of reading is. This is not because I held a simple model. The paradox is that the model I held and still hold is very complex. As a researcher

of reading, I hold an even more complex model of the knowledges, states, and actions that contribute to the reading process.

The reduction of the paradox may lie in the notion within reading of "instructional level" (Betts, 1946) and in Vygotsky's (1962, 1978) analogous, yet more enlightening notion of the zone surrounding independence, the zone of proximal development. In the zone of proximal development, an adult structures the learning to meet the "growing point" of the child's knowledges. When the child can perform independently, the adult steps back to allow independent performance. As tasks become increasingly demanding, the adult offers just enough support to keep the total performance going. The adult can be described as scaffolding (Bruner, 1978; Cazden, in press) the performance. I have begun to conceive of this scaffolding as helping the child to internalize a self-regulating feedback system (cf. Holdaway, 1979).

In early reading development, for example, the parent structures storybook reading so that the child knows what it <u>feels like</u> to read a book with comprehension long before the child can perform the task alone. Unfortunately, not all children receive such early support in reading and, for some, early school experience do not build upon or provide such experiences.

As a teacher of remedial reading, it always seemed to me that once the child and I were able to reach a growing point that what to do in lessons was very straightforward. With even the most severe cases, I always felt that what we were looking for was that point and that, of we found it, then the process of teaching/learning itself would

become almost self-guided and the complex would become simple. In this chapter, I will delineate a model in which the paradox of simultaneous complexity and simplicity will be evident and, I hope, explicated in an enlightening way. Before defining what I mean by independent reading, I need to distinguish between kinds of contributors to ease or difficulty in acquiring the ability to read.

Some characteristics are enabling but independent of print. Personality characteristics fall into this category. Some children learn easily under instruction. These children would learn easily things that are not related to print; but in the presence of a print-related task they also learn easily. The personality characteristics they manifest may become related to reading acquisition but are not a necessary, intimate part of it.

Research in early literacy acquisition points overwhelmingly to the importance of certain personality characteristics like persistence and inquisitiveness. We need to continue research into these characteristics, yet realize that they are not restricted to the acquisition of written language.

Other characteristics seem to hold a culturally-defined relationship to reading acquisition. Oral language acquisition is an example. Oral language acquisition has a two-way status. It is enabling but not necessarily directly related to print. It may or may not be directly related to print, depending upon the child's literacy culture. A child in an oral culture may learn oral language easily but, if suddenly put

into a written culture, may have a great deal to learn and may learn with great effort and even difficulty. A child in a written culture, however, may have "oral language" development that has been affected by and shows characteristics that come from written language and can no longer be described as "oral language." Cultural differences in the U.S.A. have been documented in terms of oral language/written language differences (Heath, forthcoming; Scollon & Scollon, 1979).

A third group of characteristics are directly related to print. These are the aspects of the learner's knowledges that I take to be necessary for the development of the ability to read independently. By the time the child is nearing the ability to read independently, many different knowledges have been organized into larger units. This does not mean that the child learns by unitizing small discrete skills into ever-increasing chunks, but simply that the complex knowledges become simpler, more useable units and more integrated with one another. For now, I am using the following set of aspects as a heuristic to investigate initial independent reading.

Independent reading, in my view, is the child's consistent, orchestrated, and self-regulated use of three aspects of print knowledge, each of which can and usually does develop somewhat separately. The child can be described as reading independently when s/he can flexibly use each aspect when appropriate to process written text. I will discuss each aspect at length in the next section. The three aspects are:

(1) comprehension--which can develop as anticipated

meaning or as memory for text, or both.[2]

(2) word knowledge--which involves treating the written word as a stable unit.

(3) some knowledge of letter-sound relationships--which can involve oral segmenting accompanying writing attempts as well as some use of sound/letter predictions during reading.

Discovery of Relevant Aspects of Reading

The acquisition of early reading has been investigated primarily by identifying children who learned to read early and then, after the fact, investigating parents' memories concerning the conditions that might have contributed to early reading. After such investigations (Clark, 1976; Durkin, 1966), instructional programs were planned to simulate or stimulate similar development in other children. Other instructional programs were planned based upon different conceptions of beginning to read, but with the assumption, still following from the studies of early reading, that early reading was a desirable outcome. Then the in-school acquisition of reading was investigated, using quasi-experimental treatment effects designs.

Improvements in theory have led to a revival of investigations of beginning reading (and more recently beginning writing). The disciplines contributing to theory-based research include linguistics and psychology.

Empirical studies of linguistic development have increased along with the increase in linguistic theory. These studies indicate that children abstract features of written language and approximate written language, similarly to the way children learn oral language. In oral language development, children abstract features of oral language, trying them out in a supportive environment with parents to provide feedback and encouragement. Linguistic theory has contributed by making an analysis of linguistic features and principles that seem to be contained in language so that these features and principles can be used to predict or interpret child language acquisition patterns. Research in early reading and writing acquisition is now building upon contributions from linguistic theory and research.

Psychological theory is difficult to separate from linguistic theory because psychology in reading must use linguistics as a tool; however, the emphasis is different within the two disciplines. Studies of linguistic performance (or production) and studies of linguistic awareness have led to reformulation of the performance/competence dichotomy that Chomsky was responsible for introducing. Psychology has used linguistic theory about competence, or the internalized knowledge system people have, in order to study performance.

Reading psychological theory is concerned not just with performance but also with the conditions under which performance takes place. Psychology will vary the conditions and see what happens to performance. As theory and research in reading acquisition have advanced, the notion

of linguistic performance has become linguistic "performances." Similarly, the notion of an underlying knowledge system or "competence" has begun to be broadened to include levels of awareness or knowledges, so that we might speak of "competencies."

Current developments in reading theory have been based upon borrowings from both linguistics and psychology. With these developments, reading theory has begun to deal with (1) the complexity of reading and (2) the relations between the parts. Reading theory has been divided into what are called "bottom-up" approaches, "top-down" approaches, and "interactive" approaches.

Bottom-up models of reading assert that the reader must first internally construct the text from the marks on the page. Decoding from print to speech is the first step, whether or not that speech is uttered or an internal, shortened acoustic code. After the code is cracked, the decoded units can be joined into increasingly larger units. Comprehension is considered to be attained as a result of dealing with the data on the page. Teaching approaches based on such models emphasize an early, systematic introduction to phonics and other skills and sequenced teaching with reinforcement by successful practice.

Top-down models of reading assert that reading is an active, thinking process and that readers are only able to make sense of the marks on the paper <u>because</u> they comprehend or construct possible meanings prior to processing the print. Frank Smith (1978 and in numerous presentations) is fond of quoting Paul Kolers (1969) statement: "Reading is only incidentally visual." Print is used to reduce the uncertainty of

the many predictions that the active reader raises about the author's intended message. Because print contains so many redundancies in orthographic patterns, in morphemic markings, in semantics and syntax and those print redundancies are made further redundant with the active predictions of the reader, the fluent reader learns strategies that enable him or her to merely sample the print rather than decoding it bit by bit. Teaching approaches based upon such models stress giving children opportunities for frequent and purposive reading ("you learn to read by reading") and helping children discover comprehension strategies.

Interactive models can be considered as combining the other two models by stressing the problems that actually face readers. Sometimes a person will find print so degraded (as in some movie blurbs) that s/he could only read it by making a top-down predictive leap; still other times, the reader will feel compelled to stop and even sound-out a new, necessary ingredient name and labor over the wording of a direction. Rumelhart (1977) sketches an interactive model which proceeds both top-down and bottom-up for so simple a task as reading the two words the car beside a picture containing a car.

Bottom-up theory has predominated as a theory of beginning reading with top-down being conceived of as fitting fluent reading. Both theories are inadequate as total models. The interactive model was conceived to be a more accurate description of the fluent reader dealing with difficult reading tasks, for different purposes. The problem of finding a model that fits beginning reading has remained, however. How

could one use an interactive model for beginning reading when the child has to conquer the barrier of cracking the code and rendering the marks on the page into meanings? How could the process ever be top-down for the beginning reader?

Research (as well as practice) has tended to divide into two camps concerning beginning reading, the bottom-uppers and the top-downers. The bottom-up camp stresses teaching the young child how to decode what is on the page, quickly and efficiently. The top-down camp stresses the child's natural acquisition. The teacher's job is to build upon natural acquisition; the researcher's job is to explicate what the child's "errors" tell us about the child's acquisition. There is evidence that teaching based upon both kinds of theory succeeds with some children and fails with others.

The problem of <u>comprehension</u> continues to exist for both the "natural-acquirers" and the "externally-taught." Smith (1970; 1975; 1978) popularized information theory in reading psychology so that such notions as the "bottleneck of processing/memory" and the "chunk" were beginning to be helpful concepts that promised to be testable. Smith took Miller's notion of "magic number seven plus or minus two" and pointed to the difficulties facing a novice reader. Smith postulated that the child dealing with letter-sound combinations would have a difficult time holding units in short term memory, then fusing them together to meaningful chunks that would be more economical, and still moving on to process more new, incoming text. The novice reader would be placed in a position of "tunnel vision," not able to move beyond the by-now indecipherable marks on the page.

Smith suggests that we must help the novice maintain the process by dealing with meaningful texts and, "when in trouble, speed up," but he does not attempt to get very specific about how the process might work for the beginner. He does assert (1978) that the process is the same for the novice and fluent reader.

> There are no special kinds of skill that a child must learn and exercise that are not involved in fluent reading, nor is there any part of fluent reading that is not a part of learning to read. There is no magical day in the life of children when they cross the threshold from "learner" to "reader." (p. 9)

Smith's assertion may be true, as he intended it, but misleading. The problem still remains that children do move toward becoming more and more independent with print, toward being able to abstract the author's intended meaning from written text, and toward being able to respond to that text as an external entity to be agreed with, disagreed with, enjoyed, scoffed at, even discarded. How do they do that?

It is the issue of how children become independent with print without discarding comprehension that researchers are now beginning to address. The bottom-up approach would indicate that the child's oral language comprehension should take a break while the child learns to decode. The top-down approaches tend to indicate that comprehension guides decoding and other lower-level processes but these approaches have not yet become very explicit about acquisition of the low-level processes.

The interactive model seems to be promising as a model for beginning reading as well as fluent reading. For a theory to be

successful, it needs to fit the observed data, or to be grounded, and it needs to be testable, to predict certain kinds of performances under certain conditions.

Research in early reading has begun to build the data base for grounded theory. The work of Marie Clay (1967, 1975, 1978) and Don Holdaway (1979) present detailed observations of the natural acquisition of literacy and, from those observations, these researchers have been able to predict and then verify certain likely sequences of development in literacy acquisition.

Holdaway (1979), for example, observed the development of early reading-like behavior of children reading storybooks with their parents. He then used this model to design strategies to be used with children in the entrant classes in Auckland, New Zealand. He reports that he was able to predict certain behaviors dependent upon the amount and quality of the designed shared-book experiences between the children and their teachers and upon the literacy background of the children themselves. From the observed data, he was then able to refine the model and fine-tune his predictions. Clay (1978) used similar theory-to-research-to-theory refinement strategies in the study of children's emerging oral reading attempts.

Impetus for the newer research approaches have come from people working closely with very young children acquiring both reading and writing (Clay, 1975, 1978; Goodman, 1980; Holdaway, 1979; Sulzby, 1981b; Teale, 1981). By looking at writing acquisition as well as reading

acquisition, these researchers are beginning to amass data about how the child begins to understand what gets written in a written text, how the code works within segmentable units of written-down language, and how intended meanings get manipulated in writing.

Researchers in the United States (Durkin, 1970, 1974; Henderson, in press; Stauffer, 1970) have also looked at how we can help the beginner read printed text. They have attempted to build upon natural acquisition patterns to speed up the "beginning reading" stage so that the child can soon read interesting, natural texts rather than artificially organized basal readers. Some writers like Stauffer (1970) have protested the pablum of basal reader preprimers, claiming that these artificial texts are antithetical to acquiring the ability to read thoughtfully. Stauffer suggested skipping those books by using a child's dictated accounts so that the child may acquire enough of a reading vocabulary to move on to harder, more interesting reading materials.

Similarly, Durkin (1970) suggested teaching whole words first and not allowing the process to slow down to letter-sound relationships until the child has internalized more and larger units. If a child had a larger sight vocabulary, as in Stauffer's language experience approach, or in Durkin's suggested and tested curriculum, then the total process (i.e., reading larger units than the word, units with chunks of available meaning like phrases, sentences, or even stories) could move fast enough for semantics, syntax, and context to

support the child when it was necessary to slow down enough to sound-out a word or to use letter-sound relationships.

One of the dangers of these latter approaches as contrasted with the work of Holdaway and Clay is that they run the risk of acting as if reading doesn't occur until the child is reading in a way identifiable to the naive adult. Increasingly, we are learning that the point at which a child can read a preprimer or a dictated story while attending to print is far down the road in reading acquisition. The child who can do that has been using reading-like or emergent reading behavior for a long time (Doake, 1981; Goodman, 1980; Ninio, 1980; Ninio & Bruner, 1978).

Emergence of Aspects of Reading

While I want to stress the heuristic value in research of marking the transition to independent reading, each of the aspects that are seen organized in the child's independent attempts have emerged from many knowledges acquired from and even during infancy. Each of these aspects contribute to helping the child solve the puzzle of how printed language works.

Comprehension. Comprehension of print emerges from general comprehension, or making sense of the world, as described so masterfully in the contributions to developmental psychology of Piaget. Comprehension for written texts emerges more specifically from parent-child interactions with books (Doake, 1981; Ninio & Bruner, 1978; Teale, 1981). Many behaviors can be classified under this heading:

"babbling" to books in reading intonation; labelling items in picture books; memorizing rhymes or other patterns; enjoyment of being read to; memory for stories (Note 2). The final item, memory for text, seems to emerge as an important organizational strategy underlying comprehension for written text. Memory for text must be assessed in relation to the specific kind of text, as mentioned earlier, however, the ability is important in itself.

Children show regular patterns of emerging ability to hold a text in memory (Haussler, 1981; Sulzby, 1981b). Holding a text like a dictated story in memory virtually verbatim enables a child to slow down the visual process enough to match voice to print without losing comprehension, even when many repetitions are needed for the match to work. Thus memory for text can support the child's use and discovery of letter-sound correspondences as well as the child's growing awareness of how word boundaries work, of stability of the word unit itself, and of other orthographic features.

Holding a text in memory when that text is one's own utterance, as in dictation and re-reading, is an important emergent ability. It implies (1) that the child has separated his intention from his production, (2) that the child treats the text as an entity, or a chunk; and (3) that the child is thus able to manipulate or respond to that entity as external to the child. Text is becoming autonomous (Olson, 1977).

Similar realizations about the nature of written text occur when the child uses memory for favorite storybooks. Myna Haussler (1981) and I have begun to track the child's separation of text from depicted action

in "pretend-readings." Holdaway (1979) illustrates children's emerging reading of such texts and shows how book-like language permeates children's attempts even when the print is not being watched while the child is saying the text. Holdaway suggests that children who learn to read from repeated readings of beloved books learn that the "phonic" system works backward to the ideas usually proposed by adults. He says children learn that there is a sound-letter correspondence, not letter-sound; that reading print must go more efficiently than sounding-out would allow. We anticipate (comprehend) what should be written, then we check the visual array to see if it was.

Letter-sound relationships. The discussion of comprehension as memory for text has already led to a consideration of the child's emerging ability to understand the regularities and peculiarities of the orthographic system. Here I want to suggest that we must once again examine the child's emerging ability to write as well as read.

We rarely know in natural settings how closely the child is processing letter-sound information in reading. Occasionally, a child will sound-out a word so that the adult can hear but if the message came from someone else, the comprehension may be disrupted by the slowed process so we do not get the full picture of how using letter-sound relations can work for this child. Here is a point at which we must again consider performances, or the conditions under which certain knowledges are useable (competencies/performances). The child who sounds out someone else's writing may not have access to comprehension while sounding-out a word. Additionally, we often

do not know to what degree the child used letter-sound information and to what degree comprehension helped the child short-cut the laborsome process. We do not want to deprive the child of the support of comprehension while working on understanding the letter-sound system, yet it is clear that reading may go so smoothly for a while in early reading that letter-sound information may not become clear enough.

One area in which the meaning can be held in mind while the child deals clearly and effortfully with letter-sound relationships is in writing, when the child conceives of a message and then attempts to encode it in invented spelling. Dictation does not have the same potential for the child to explore the writing system, because the adult does the writing, or the encoding of the message into units keyed by letter-sound relationships.

When children write, they often voluntarily allow adults to observe their growing understanding of how speech is segmented into syllables and words, how letters encode phonetic units, what the writing system encodes, and how it marks distinctions like word or sentence boundaries. Children allow adults to make these observations both by what they do in writing and by the vocalizations they make while writing.

It should be noted that sounding-out words requires great effort on the part of young children just acquiring that ability. The effort may be marked by negative affect if the child is not successful or does not recognize the resulting speech unit or word. Sounding-out words in writing begins with a meaningful unit and the child who sounds-out words in writing has a high likelihood of feeling successful. Research in

early written composition involving the use of invented spelling (Bissex, 1980; Gentry & Henderson, 197&; Kita, 1980; and Read, 1975, 1978) provides evidence that the ability to encode in spelling shows interpretable developmental trends both in what children can do but also enjoy and feel successful doing.

Word knowledge. A young child must coordinate a number of knowledges in order to understand how words work in written language. The child must transfer the notion of object permanance to written words so that the word is treated as a stable unit. When the child learns that the oral word /was/ (and the conceptual word <was>) is written was, the child must also realize that came cannot also be /was/.

Another understanding that a child must develop about written words is that the word is a bounded entity. It has a beginning, an end, internal pattern, and is bounded by unmarked space. Clay (1978) has studies oral reading of young children and tracked the development of the ability to match voice to print and to coordinate finger pointing with voice and eye pointing. Understanding where word boundaries occur in speech and print is an important step toward independent reading.

Other understandings about written words are related to letter-sound relationships. The child begins to have visual expectancies for written words: they look like English orthography (Lavine, 1977; Pick, Unze, Brownell, Drozdal, & Hopmann, 1978; Sulzby & Templeton, 1980). Additionally, words with similar forms are probably related to one another, again through the orthographic system, as inflectional and morphological markers become salient features.

The child does not have to develop all knowledge about written words to make the transition to independent reading but s/he must understand that words mark intended meanings in print (comprehension guides word recognition); that words are located in written space; and that words are stable entities with recognizable parts. These realizations can come from reading familiar texts and from the child's own writing attempts.

Reading and Writing Differ

In discussing the emergence of the three aspects of reading (comprehension, word knowledge, and letter-sound relationships), I have stressed the importance of looking for these knowledges in children's writing as well as their reading. These knowledges do not always develop as mirror images, however, as Bissex (1980) noted in her case study of her son's writing and reading development. We recently discovered a young independent reader who encoded <u>came</u> three different ways in the same one page composition, using invented spelling one time and graphic placeholders for the other two. Word stability in reading had been one of the strongest aspects of her reading as it emerged toward independence during her kindergarten year.

Nature of Written Texts

I have presented the three aspects of processing written texts, discussed some of the ways in which they emerge or some knowledges that they represent. I have not discussed how these aspects of reading get used in reading actual texts.

The three aspects of reading are posited to be essential parts of the reading process. I contended in the introduction to this paper that different kinds of written text offer different kinds of support and place different kinds of constraints upon the beginning reader. I will briefly contrast four kinds of written texts often used with beginners, ending with the primary texts used in this part of the BRDKAWL project, children's dictated and handwritten compositions. Then I will discuss the relationship between oral language and written language and how this relationship may impact both the nature of these self-composed texts and the emerging ability to re-read these texts.

It should be remembered that children read different kinds of written material and texts in addition to the ones discussed here. Yetta Goodman has written extensively about the child's growing ability to deal with environmental print in a meaningful, functional way. Glenda Bissex (1980) and Robert Gundlach (forthcoming) have carefully described more specific uses of other child-written forms such as letters and signs. Here I focus simply upon basal readers or materials contrived for systematic instruction; children's storybooks; children's dictated compositions; and their handwritten compositions.

Basal readers. Basal readers are series of graded instructional materials. They typically are designed to control either letter-sound relationships (size of unit and order of introduction differ) and/or word. Jeanne Chall's (1967) Great Debate was interpreted as a comparison between "decoding" and "whole-word" controlled approaches. Certainly, the two emphases present different demands upon the young child.

With the texts organized around systematic introduction and reinforcement of whole words the child is given the opportunity to begin to develop word stability which can help him/her solve other parts of the word knowledge puzzle, like matching voice to print. However, the child will not have remembered meaning to enable the process to go fast enough to maintain comprehension, unless the child is a phenomenal word learner. If child is learning words fast enough and automatically enough, s/he may be able to construct meaning, but usually basal reader preprimers typically do not have much of a "meaning" to construct. Controlled texts tend to be weak in their ability to help the child anticipate meaning. Thus if the child has a problem in remembering words, the text won't be of much support.

Knowledge of letter-sound relationships is paced more slowly in whole-word oriented texts, often called "skills" approaches (cf. DeFord, 1978). With decoding approaches, while children are given instruction in letter-sound relationships, there is the added problem of the speed needed to sound-out words fast enough to avoid losing meaning. Basal readers that depend highly upon letter-sound relationships tend to spend a lot of time upon developing these skills to a high degree quickly. Chall's original plea following her massive research summary was that decoding skills be taught systematically and intensively without neglecting comprehension. Unfortunately, the texts structured to provide such decoding practice tend not to be written so that the meaning is predictable or easily constructed, particularly when the process must be slowed enough to use decoding.

Both kinds of texts offer support in that the child can anticipate the words or the word-types that will be used and these words and word types do not vary widely. There will be repeated units. The units tend to support word knowledge and letter-sound knowledge, however, the texts are not very supportive of comprehension.

Storybooks. Authors write books specifically designed for the understanding and pleasure of young children. These books are written with language naturally fitting the topic and intended audience and not with reading instruction in mind.

Storybooks provide support for the child in memory for text, provided that the child heard the story read before. If so the text can aid the child to match voice with known words and to use letter-sounds as checks instead of for sounding-out. Favorite, well-learned storybooks can be very supportive of comprehension and provide some support for letter-sound and word knowledges.

If the child has not read the story, it will tend to be less supportive of comprehension. Nevertheless, it will likely be a predictable story. Books that survive as favorite storybooks of children tend to be predictable and usually well-formed in some genre-sense. Again, however, the child may not come to analyze critical features of the writing system that are important in word recognition and letter-sound relationships. S/he is less likely to be supported in these aspects of reading by unfamiliar storybooks than by familiar ones.

Both categories of storybooks tend to require construction and memory of amounts of text with material to comprehend that is less

intimately known than the material in the child's own compositions. The language phrasing and structure may be more memorable and enduring as "melodies on the tongue" than the child's compositions. Children only gradually become able to implant such memorable phrases and structures in their own compositions.

Dictations. In dictated compositions, the child creates a text by saying the words for a scribe to write down. Dictated stories support the part of comprehension that is remembered, rather than constructed meaning, although editing techniques may be used to extend comprehension (Sulzby, 1980 b). The child may use memory for text to support the growth of word knowledge by matching voice to print. The child may observe the scribe's use of letter-sound relationships in encoding the child's speech to print but the child will be less likely to analyze letter-sound relationships in re-reading the dictations than either in writing or re-reading from writing.

Handwritten compositions. In writing itself if the child is using invented spelling, the child deeply processes letter-sound relationships. Writing is difficult, however, requiring great expenditure of effort. The child may use other writing systems (pretend-cursive; placeholders) to short-cut the process. If so, then the handwritten texts will be less supportive of the development of letter-sound knowledge and/or word knowledge. Through whichever writing system is used, though, handwritten compositions tend to support memory for text, dependent upon how close the child is to independent reading.

Written compositions tend to be shorter than other kinds of texts, since they require so much effort to construct. They can thus be more memorable in terms of amount to remember than longer texts but they may, like the dictations, be less memorable in structure and turn of phrase. They also tend not to extend the child's comprehension outward toward reconstructing someone else's, an author's, message.

Summary. The four kinds of texts described here differ in the supports and demands they offer the beginning reader. It is my contention that we must understand the nature of these support/demands in relation to the child if we are to understand the transition into independent reading. It is necessary to understand these supports and demands in order to test certain predictions concerning the child's level of emergent reading ability.

Written Texts and Oral Language

I have argued in another paper (Sulzby, 1981b) that oral language and written language develop in different relations to one another depending upon the child's literacy background. For the children in the current study, written language knowledges develop alongside oral language knowledges, but the two differ in some predictable ways. These differences may be described as a movement toward understanding the nature of written texts and how they differ from face-to-face oral dialogue.

The research paradigm I am currently using makes use of a sequence of tasks conceptualized to move from conversation (or "talking") to written composition. I am assuming that the beginning reader who understands how written language differs from oral language will be enabled

to deal with print more easily and independently. S/he will have the basis for a more conscious awareness of how the aspects of reading work.

Let us examine how these oral language/written language knowledge distinctions may work with dictated stories. A child who realizes that a dictation contains his/her own words will be more likely to call upon memory for text to aid in memory for words or use of letter-sound knowledges. The child who treats dictation as a conversation may not attend to the words s/he utters as a memorable entity. S/he may not be aware that s/he is supposed to be creating autonomous text and may make his/her statements contingent upon information given in an examiner's statements. S/he may then expect to find words in the written text that are not there because s/he never uttered them.

Similar analyses could be applied to the other kinds of texts; however, in this study, we are examining dictated and handwritten texts. I will now discuss the primary mode distinctions conceptualized for this study and how they differ in the movement from face-to-face interactive dialogue to the re-created dialogue between author and reader that goes on in independent reading.

The modes (and the tasks selected to tap them) were designed with five-year-old children in mind. The paradigm includes conversation ("talking"); storytelling; dictated compositions; handwritten compositions; and re-reading and editing the written compositions. The modes move from independent functioning ("talking") to dependent functioning ("writing" and "reading") along the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978). The five-year-old child can converse or interact through face-to-

face speech independently, whereas s/he typically needs much support in reading and writing tasks, not just to do the tasks but to understand what the modes require.

There is an interesting contrast in these tasks, however, in terms of the actual need to have another person present in order for the child to operate within the mode. In conversation, there must be someone to talk with. In writing, an author must create a document that a non-present reader can understand. In reading, a reader needs certain expectations about what a text must contain. Readers and writers need internalized models of the author-reader relationship. These intrapsychological models are probably built by an internalization of face-to-face dialogue, or interpsychological speech activities (cf. Gundlach, Litowitz, & Moses, 1979; and Wertsch, 1979).

David Olson (1977) has distinguished oral utterances from written texts by pointing to the contrast between contextualized speech and decontextualized, autonomous written speech. I find this notion helpful (see Sulzby, 1981b) so long as one keeps in mind (1) that children acquire such a distinction gradually; (2) that the distinction arises from within oral language and written knowledge developments; (3) and that the final goal is the ability both to distinguish modes and to manipulate the distinctions to one's advantage as a language user.

Modes and How They May Differ

Conversation. In conversation, information is exchanged between two speakers. The speakers are also listeners and monitor the communications of both participants. Garvey (1977) has shown that very young

children can take account of a message from another child and make comments and ask questions that are contingent upon the speech of another in order to maintain the information exchange and conversational continuity. In conversation, neither speaker has to carry the entire burden; instead, the burden is shared. The speech event consists of two-person dialogue.

Storytelling. In storytelling, one speaker is expected to maintain an oral monologue (see Johnson, 1977) and another person or persons is/are expected to listen. The speaker must keep the attention of the listeners but s/he is responsible for informational continuity and completeness. In effect, the dialogue becomes internalized. The information is given in a transient manner and cannot be reviewed by the listener. Thus the speaker needs to give the information in an interesting and expected fashion. When a listener needs to stop the storyteller for clarification, the storytelling mode expectations have been violated, in the direction of conversational expectations. The mode has been adapted toward conversation.

Dictation. In dictation, one person is the speaker who must maintain an oral monologue. A second person serves as a scribe and writes down what the speaker says. (I will ignore the more adult use of tape recorders, etc.) The speaker must compose a message, which should be appropriate for written language (in other words, for reading by an absent audience). The speaker must make use of the same kind of internalized model of dialogue that s/he needed for storytelling.

The message should also be adapted to the needs of the scribe who is taking the dictation. The scribe assumes the burden of the actual handwriting but communicates needs to the speaker (see Gould, 1980; Sulzby, 1980a). For example, the scribe needs the speech of the speaker to be clear, to be guided by the scribe's writing speed, and for intonation and segmentation to be coordinated to the conventions of the writing system.

Handwritten composition. In handwritten composition, the person conveying the message stops speaking and uses a graphic mode of communicating a message. This person becomes the writer, rather than speaker, and must deal with all of the constraints of written language: message composition and structure, spelling, punctuation, etc. The audience is no longer present, even in the intermediate form of a scribe, and must be imagined for effective communication. The writer must also be the sole monitor of the message effectiveness.

Reading. The reader seems to have an easy task if the writer has done his or her job well. However, the reader, to be efficient, needs a similar internalized model of a written text: that it was written by an author who had certain expectations about the needs and capacities of the reader and that s/he, the reader, can use the internalized model to know what strategies will be effective to obtain and react to the author's intended meaning.

When the mode of reading is used by an author of written text, the author-reader must keep in mind the needs of the absent audience-reader so that the written text can be evaluated in terms of its decontextualized

content and its effectiveness in achieving its intended purpose.

Editing. Editing is a mode distinction closely tied to manipulating written text to make it more effective. Editing goes on with all production, however. Self-corrections and clarifications in conversation or storytelling are forms of editing just as much as are adding topic sentences or specifying a protagonist's relationship to another character.

Editing of written texts depends upon the mode of reading with an internalized model of the author-reader relationship. It tends to be more deliberate and more separated in time from initial production than is the editing that goes on in the oral modes. It has the added input of a physical record which has the potential of permitting the kind of intense critical reading of the text that successful mature editing requires.

For a young child, editing of written material may provide the most concrete evidence that one's composition is an entity that can be reflected upon and manipulated. Then that knowledge may become clearer so that the child will use memory for orally produced text (as in dictation) to help support re-reading.

Summary. I have discussed six modes of language use: conversation, storytelling, dictated compositions, handwritten compositions, reading, and editing. These modes have the potential for becoming distinct and flexible for the mature language user. For the literate adult, the modes comprise a transition from interactive face-to-face oral language to written language. For the child, the modes are still

developing. This development should have a predictable course for a child in a given literacy environment.

Knowledges About Written Language

During the first five years of life, children acquire knowledges about oral language. As discussed throughout this chapter, they also acquire knowledges about written language, particularly if they grow up in a literate environment.

How children display knowledges about written language. Children do not acquire knowledge about language as discrete pieces of information nor as discrete skills. Rather, they acquire patterns of knowledge that they attempt to fit into their previous knowledge. Just as with oral language, children form hypotheses about how written language works and they then try out those hypotheses. We can deduce what the child's hypotheses are from ways in which the child's attempts differ from and approximate conventional literate adult productions. We can also deduce what the child's hypotheses are from the ways in which they impact upon previously-acquired patterns of knowledge.

A number of strands of knowledge about written language have been investigated using such a developmental acquisition framework. One of the earliest application of a developmental theory was Kenneth Goodman's oral reading miscue analysis (Goodman & Burke, 1971). His analysis was applicable to oral independent reading but similar approaches are being fruitful for the pre-reading period. Some of the areas are invented spelling (Henderson & Beers, 1980; Read, 1975, 1978); early writing

attempts (Bissex, 1980; Clay, 1975); and early storybook reading (Doake, 1981; Holdaway, 1979; Teale, 1981).

Children also display knowledges about written language through their productive use of language in the language modes mentioned earlier. The area of early story composition (Applebee, 1978; Botvin & Sutton-Smith, 1977; Glenn & Stein, 1978; Menig-Peterson & McCabe, 1978 and in press) has been studies using oral production modes. Additionally, children have been observed to write stories and other longer written compositions, using inventive writing techniques, before they can read and write independently and conventionally. Children have been taught to read using stories and other accounts that they dictate to a scribe. The child's manipulations of language across these modes can provide us with even more understanding of the child's closeness to independent reading, so long as we do not forget the complex numbers and kinds of information the child is attempting to organize and simplify. Children could, for instance, be predicted to demonstrate different distinctions between language modes and different adaptations of modes depending upon their own literacy backgrounds and their degree of closeness to independent reading.

Children demonstrate their knowledges verbally, as well, in discussing reading and writing. Two kinds of verbalization are important to note as well as to compare with actual performances: (1) responses to someone else's questions and (2) comments and questions and comments the child produces voluntarily. Some questions which we have found helpful to pose to the child do not focus directly upon the child's own

current performances so much as they focus upon possible performances. These questions include asking a child how s/he would do a task, how someone else does it, or what s/he would need in order to do a task.

Children's voluntary comments and questions are extremely promising sources of information. These verbalizations may give fairly direct evidence of a child's developing knowledges even though the lack of a verbalization does not signal absence of an understanding. The verbalizations may also reveal difficulties a child has in talking about a newly-acquired or emerging ability which s/he may never have discussed before or for which s/he may not have the needed vocabulary. The verbalizations also provide evidence of how the child uses an adult as a resource; of how the child interacts in conversation and interrogation; and of how written language and oral language are distinguished in oral interactive productions.

Many of the above-mentioned research techniques for inferring children's knowledges began from naturalistic observation then evolved into more formal research tools, including direct manipulation. Direct manipulation can reveal a child's knowledges about written language by changing the conditions under which a child does a task or by adding new knowledge or assistance while s/he does the task. Then the researcher can observe how the change or addition affects the child's behavior and, from that, the probable content and sequence of development.

In the BRDKAWL project, I attempt to extend our data base about beginning reading acquisition by describing children's knowledges about written language. This description is gathered during a period of change

in children's lives, their first year in kindergarten, so the effects of natural changes that age and experience bring can be described. Additionally, we have manipulated some changes by giving children a structured set of oral and written language tasks to perform with a structured set of permitted assistances from an adult. We have recorded both children's performances and what they say about these performances, both voluntarily and in interviews.

A simple inventory of knowledges is not sufficient for a data base. Grounded theory must have a data base but the data base must have patterns within it that allow for testable predictions at some point in the research. I have listed some of the kinds of knowledges the BRDKAWL project is cataloguing. In the next section, I will suggest the kinds of relationships these knowledges seem to have to the initial acquisition of independent reading.

How written language knowledges contribute to reading acquisition. In the earlier discussion of the reading process, I distinguished between three kinds of contributors to ease or difficulty in acquiring the ability to read independently. The knowledges about written language that we are tracking in the BRDKAWL project include information coming from all three kinds of contributors: those that are enabling but independent of print; those that have a culturally-defined relation to print; and those that are directly related to print, that form the three aspects that are coordinated into independent reading.

Enabling contributors. Enabling contributors help the child to gain more knowledges about written language. One example given earlier

was the personality characteristic of persistence that has been reported to be important in the early, easy, and enduring acquisition of reading. Such a characteristic is not directly related to print but it enables a child to do certain things to and with written language. Persistence, for example, helps a child keep after a laborsome task.

Reading does require the acquisition of low-level skills and these skills are learned with effort. I mentioned earlier the effort required to sound-out words without support from memory for text or without predictions coming from possible meaning. I also mentioned the effort required for a beginner to write extended compositions with invented spelling. Bottom-up models of reading suggest that such skills should be taught directly. They recommend that the skills be taught in a careful sequence with much successful drill and practice so that a child can rapidly gain enough knowledge to move on to the higher-levels of text comprehension.

Children who have been reported to acquire letter-sound abilities naturally and without direct instruction have been described retrospectively (Clark, 1976; Durkin, 1966) as persistent. Holdaway (1979) indicates that natural-acquirers of written language independence do certain things voluntarily that the bottom-up models of reading have children do by externally-imposed means. The natural-acquirers provide drill-and-practice for themselves, constructing an internal feedback system that enables them to estimate how close they are to a conventional model.

In the BRDKAWL study, conditions are established for observing enabling characteristics like persistence or internalized models for

successful reading. In reading from texts and in writing texts that have a definable relationship to the reader, for instance, children can show us how much drill and practice they provide for themselves in sounding-out words in reading and writing. We can also observe such indicators as how much they work on matching voice to print in re-reading and how much they persist in getting an adult's assistance when they need it.

We also attempt to understand the child's internalized model for learning as it applies to reading and writing tasks. We ask children to explain to us such things as, "Here's how I do it," as compared with, "Here's how an adult does it." We also ask them to explain how they have learned things that they now know well and how they think they may learn new things. We are looking for how the child applies general characteristics of learning specifically to learning about written language.

Culturally-defined contributors. It is tempting to assume that, in a literate community, a high level or oral language acquisition leads directly to an easy acquisition of the ability to read. That does not appear to be the simple case, however. It is postulated in the BRDKAWL study that the relationship is less direct and that it is the development of clear and flexible distinctions between oral and written language modes that are more relevant to the acquisition of reading.

In communities with a high degree of and value for literacy, a great deal of input into reading acquisition comes from knowledges gained by developing distinctions between oral language and written language

modes. Both modes develop from infancy although in differing degrees in different families and different parent-child interaction settings. Since both modes develop from infancy, however, and since the culture defines certain roles for each mode, predictions can be made about how they will develop and affect one another.

In the BRDKAWL project, we use structured tasks related across language modes and have posited how children may show confusions within or make distinctions between the modes as they move closer to being able to read independently. At an early stage of acquisition, knowledge about oral language may prevent successful dealing with written language and at a later point it may assist.

Even within the United States, as mentioned earlier, children come from cultures that differ in the manner in which written language knowledges and oral language knowledges are related. A child coming from a primarily oral culture has a different task in learning to read than a child who comes from a culture with much written language input. Here are some of the kinds of knowledges that I posit children can develop more clearly oral language and written language have been acquired together and have become distinguished as modes. I suggest further that these knowledges would develop poorly from oral language (or written language) acquisition alone:

(1) Language is made up of units, of bits and pieces, that have internal organization and that get organized into larger units.

(2) Messages or meanings are conveyed through units.

(3) Someone composes messages for someone else (there is a

composer/audience relationship).

(4) Oral messages get transformed when they become written messages.

(5) Oral language and written language each have a distinctive "sound."

(6) The composer has a duty to the recipient of the message.

All of these knowledges help a child construct an internal model that can be used as a feedback mechanism to guide independent reading. The child can use his/her composing process in writing to internalize author intentions; s/he can use his/her communication breakdowns in oral language to internalize editing processes. S/he can use the cadence of internalized reading to see if the material being read sounds like reading and can help keep voice and print matched when depending upon memory for dictated text. The child can figure out who a probable composer was: if it was himself/herself, s/he will attempt to use memory for test; if it was someone else s/he will attempt to construct a probable meaning. (Some five-year-old literate children even have internalized models for specific authors like Eric Carle, Morris Sendak, or Richard Scarry.)

It becomes apparent that, for children in a literate environment who are closely approaching independent reading, the oral language/written language distinction shades into knowledges that are directly related to print. The point that is important to keep in mind is that, even for such children, the process is developmental and that written language acquisition does not simply begin where oral language acquisition leaves off.

Sequence Issues in Reading Acquisition

In this paper I have implied a distinction between knowledges that children acquire and knowledge, or the total organization of what one acquires. I have stated that even small bits of knowledge get acquired by features and principles and not as isolated pieces of knowledge and that new knowledges fit into old knowledges in various ways. In particular, different kinds of knowledge about reading coming from the child's reading and writing environments and activities get organized into aspects directly related to print. These aspects become organized into the ability to read independently.

One reason for focussing on knowledges is that it enables researchers to be more aware of the early roots of literacy, in infants, toddlers, and five-year-olds. It also enables us to consider fine distinctions in the sequence of acquisition so that patterns of behavior become at least potentially more understandable.

Holdaway (1979) describes literacy acquisition as fulfilling all the requirements of developmental learning. Included within developmental learning are periods when new knowledge added to old knowledge results in the child's behavior seeming to become less mature or adult-like. The child seems to regress, to over-generalize the new behavior, to practice "bad habits" from a conventional "adult" viewpoint.

In another paper (Sulzby, 1981a), I have suggested that as new knowledges are acquired in reading and writing they may show up as fluctuations and regressions. The job of the researcher in early reading and writing is to discover these patterns and describe and explain them

so that normal developmental patterns that appear deviant can be distinguished from truly alarming deviations. For example, in the year's study in this report we found children who showed the normal developmental pattern of not making boundaries between words when writing stories using invented spellings. These children do make word boundaries in the speech they are using while encoding into invented spelling but they do not make spaces between the written letters. However, we found only one child who showed what looks to me now like a deviant pattern by attempting to re-read by trying to sound-out visual units across her own (non-graphic) word boundaries. Whether or not this is a truly deviant pattern cannot be known until we examine this phenomenon with many more children at this point in development.

From the research others have conducted in early reading acquisition (Amarel, 1981; Bissex, 1980; Clay, 1978; Holdaway, 1979; and Lesgold, Resnick, Roth & Hammond, 1981) and from the work reported in this document, I conclude that there is no one pattern of acquisition but that there are understandable patterns of acquisition that we are just beginning to capture in our research.

The kind of developmental acquisition and organization of knowledges that I have suggested seems to fit a theory of reading that is interactive from the point of earliest acquisition. Top-down processes like hypothesis-generation and prediction drive low-level previously-automatized processing but also support the learner during the self-regulated drill-and-practice needed to acquire the skills that are

needed for such bottom-up processing as sounding-out words. "Writing" or composing one's own message is a top-down process driven by intended meaning. Getting the message written in letters required bottom-up dealings with articulatory and acoustic productions, with letter names, and with stored graphic forms. The child needs the intended message to support the laborsome task of dealing with letters and sounds. The knowledges acquired during this writing process can become available during reading (although, as I mentioned earlier, not as a mirror-image, or with automatic transfer).

Summary

In this paper, I have suggested that the reading process for the beginner is both complex and simple. Young children acquire the ability to read developmentally. They acquire knowledges from both reading and writing. These knowledges are acquired as features and principles that lead to mature, conventional reading but show up in behaviors that differ, in understandable ways, from adult, conventional literacy behaviors.

A problem in both theory and instruction has been to include comprehension as an integral part of beginning reading. Beginning reading is defined as the earliest reading in which a young child is able to use three kinds of organized knowledge, flexibly and independently: comprehension, letter-sound knowledge, and word knowledge. Different kinds of texts were examined in terms of the supports and constraints of these three aspects of reading that they present to the young reader.

The three postulated aspects of reading were distinguished from other kinds of contributors to reading acquisition. Some contributors were presented as being enabling characteristics, but not directly related to processing print. Others are related to print in different ways depending upon the oral language-written language relationships within the literacy culture. Only the three aspects of comprehension, letter-sound knowledge, and word knowledge were presented as necessarily and directly related to the emergence of independent reading.

No one sequence of reading acquisition has been discovered; evidence is present that children acquire reading through different, but related sequences. Better description is needed of early acquisition of various knowledges, organizations of knowledge, and of early orchestrated, independent reading.

Chapter III

Goals for the Current Studies

The 1979-80 leg of Beginning Readers' Developing Knowledges About Written Language followed two years of naturalistic observations and pilot work in the same kindergarten classroom under the same teacher. Literature in early naturalistic reading development (Clark, 1976; and Durkin, 1966, 1970, 1974) indicated that there was a need to observe children during the time they make the transition from pre-reading to reading and that, for this kind of research, the transition should not be influenced by formal instructional programs in reading. Additionally, there was a need for samples of reasonably large size, of a range of literacy-related ability levels, and from an easily-described literacy background.

Two studies were designed in order (1) to investigate the acquisition of the ability to read from one's own dictated and handwritten compositions and (2) to specify the knowledges about written language which accompany the acquisition of reading. The two studies were to be used with the same sample of children. Study I was a structured interview of "General Knowledges" about reading, writing, and the research variable of topic (real and make-believe). Additionally, children's awareness of audience as a variable was probed in pilot form. Study II investigated the effect of topic (real and make-believe) upon children's compositions.

Study I. Study I was designed to describe baseline data across all the children. The questions it addressed concerned the range of

abilities of the children in this classroom at the beginning of the school year:

(1) What can these five-year-old children write?

(2) What can these children read?

(3) What do these children say about literacy tasks that they cannot yet perform?

(4) How do these children characterize knowing and learning?

(5) What do these children know about how to handle books and how one reads books?

(6) What literacy-related language terms do these children use correctly?

(7) What do these children know about the variables of topic and audience?

(8) How do these children perform as conversational partners?

Each of these goals are re-stated in the Results chapter, in the order of the interview schedule. The interview schedule itself is described in Chapter Four.

Study II. Study II is an experimental exploration of the effects of varying the topic used by five-year-old children in composing stories. If children's memory for text is an important aspect of learning to read, we need to explore the issue of memorability of texts, even within a given text type. The types of texts chosen for Study II were the child's own dictated and handwritten stories. Instructional research in the language-experience approach (see Stauffer, 1970) had claimed that children will learn to read best from materials in the child's own language

about the child's own experiences. Holdaway (1979) speculates that these "stories" or accounts are composed of less memorable language than are, for contrast, children's storybooks.

Structural well-formedness has been established as an important aspect of memorability for texts (Stein and Glenn, 1979) and structural complexity has been speculated to be a related sign of linguistic maturity. Menig-Peterson and McCabe (in press) discuss the issue of the effects of real-life topics versus imaginary topics upon the structural well-formedness and complexity of children's stories as measured by story grammars. They found that samples of real-life narratives of young children were more well-formed and more complex structurally than were Glenn and Stein's (1978) fictional stories elicited from children of similar ages and descriptions. No published study that I am aware of has yet tested real versus make-believe effects upon stories produced by the same children.

It is possible that children are so aware of what actually happened in real-life that they tell real stories in a less-complex, script-like form (see Sulzby, 1979) and that they are more free to construct a well-formed story if the topic is make-believe. Or they may have to give so much processing capacity to creating a tale in make-believe that the actual output becomes impoverished. In addition, there is the issue of memorability and its support for re-reading by emergent readers.

Study II was designed to compare the effects of real versus make-believe topic upon stories composed by the same children. In

addition, it was designed to elicit two samples each of three production modes: story telling; story dictation; and story writing. Thus story composition could be studied across modes, with the replications varying by topic. The goal was to describe the composition in each mode. A further goal was to determine which mode comparisons were valid tests of topic effects.

Story reading effects were part of the design of Study II. The primary goals were to determine if reading attempts could be measured for these kinds of materials with admissible signs of validity and reliability, and, if so, to look for relationships between emergent reading and other literacy-related variables, including structural complexity. (Reading was tapped in two ways in Study II, in a Re-reading and in an Editing task. For purposes of this report, only re-reading data were examined.)

Specific questions in Study II were addressed by both descriptive and experimental analyses. They were organized around three major topics.

(1) Children's Knowledges About Writing

  (a) What knowledges do these five-year-old children have about how messages get written?

  (b) How do children choose to write a message, given the knowledges they have available to them?

  (c) What do children reveal in their writing about authors, audiences, and reading?

(2) Emergent Reading Abilities: Told and Dictated Stories

  (a) How can children's attempts to re-read their

handwritten and dictated stories be described and measured?

(b) How stable are children's performances in re-reading handwritten and dictated stories across instances?

(3) Comparison Across Modes: Oral Language and Written Language Differences

(a) Do children make a distinction between the oral language they use when telling a story and when dictating a story?

(b) What adaptations do children make in oral language modes?

(c) Are adaptations related to degrees of emergent reading ability?

(d) How understandable do readers find the transcripts of children's told and dictated stories, across and between topics?

(e) Do children differ in how well they specify information needed by an absent audience in their real as contrasted with their make-believe stories?

(f) How can the structure of the written transcripts of the told and dictated stories be described?

(g) Do the stories vary in complexity as a result of topic or mode? As a result of emergent reading ability?

These questions will be addressed in Chapter Five, Results. The method for eliciting the data for both Study I and Study II is described in the next chapter.

Chapter IV

Method

Introduction to Study I and Study II

As evident in the diagram of the on-going project, "Beginning Readers' Developing Knowledges About Written Language," the two studies described herein were conducted in 1979-80. These two studies concern the literacy development of the same children so many of the procedures are common. Those procedures will be described first. Then procedures specific to each study will be described separately.

Subjects. The two studies were conducted with the same children from one kindergarten classroom (the morning session) from a school system in a northern suburb of Chicago, Illinois. In this classroom there is no deliberate attempt to teach reading and writing. Children are from middleclass to upper-middleclass homes in which the standard of living is relatively high and literacy is valued. Although ability and achievement levels are high on the average, each year there is a range of "readiness" characteristics for formal instruction in reading and writing. Evidence for this range has been collected by observation by this researcher in the classroom for three years, by teacher judgment, by reading readiness test scores, and by children's success in first grade reading class.

The mean age in October was 5-4 (range, 4-11 to 5-10). There were 13 females and 11 males. All children took part in both studies. Parents of the children were written by the school principal, asking for permission for the child to take part in the study, then each child was asked for his/her permission by the examiner prior to the first session. While children from the morning session comprised the study

sample, children from the afternoon session of the same teacher allowed the materials to be tried out with them during September. During that month, the researchers were visiting the morning classroom informally so that the study children became accustomed to their presence.

Data collection. Study I consisted of one session and Study II of two sessions. Data collection began in October and ended in mid-December. There was a period of two to three weeks between Study I and the first session of Study II, with approximately a month between the two sessions of Study II.

For each session, an examiner took each child separately to a quiet spot where the child was put at ease, explained the purpose for the examiner's questions, and asked to take part in the study. Children were asked about their previous experience with tape recorders and allowed to try out the recorder, in order to alleviate anxiety and novelty. Children were told that the examiners were interested in "everything we say" and that the tape recorder would be used to help the examiner remember. There were three examiners in Study I and two in Study II.

Transcriptions and protocols. All sessions were tape-recorded and later transcribed by the examiner. For Study I, each examiner checked her own transcription. For Study II, in addition to the examiner's double-checking the transcription, a trained assistant rechecked 44 percent of the tapes against the typed protocols. (This same assistant also made judgments and descriptions about prosody and mode adaptation.) In addition to the taped transcripts, examiners wrote observations of behavior during the sessions and also preserved

the child's handwritten and dictated productions, along with records of re-readings and editings. Composite protocols were assembled for each study, consisting of the taped transcripts with explanatory notes, observations, and productions inserted at the relevant points during the session. Thus a complete record of each session was preserved, treating both child and adult statements and actions as data.

Study I, General Knowledges About Written Language Interview

Rationale. The rationale for specific items in the interview will be explained in the data collection section. Two general purposes governed the entire session. The first purpose of this study was to find out what the child could already do in reading and writing, to gather actual samples of the child's unaided reading and writing performances.

The second purpose was to investigate what the child knows or is beginning to learn about reading and writing. Thus samples were taken of the child's verbal explanations about things s/he cannot yet do or explanations about the conditions under which s/he might be able to perform reading and writing tasks. The examiner was instructed to follow the script suggestions to encourage the child to "pretend" to read or to write, to tell how grown-ups read or write, and to tell what the child thinks s/he would have to learn to be able to read and to write. After following the script as the basic interview, the examiner was urged to "follow the child's lead," adding questions as needed. The examiner was instructed not to introduce terms or ideas, however, but to explore the child's ideas.

Data collection. Each child was taken from the classroom by an examiner who said casually, while turning to go: "Oh, by the way, why don't you bring along one of your favorite storybooks." Then the child was taken to a desk in a quiet spot on which the examiner had arranged the tape recorder, unlined 8½ x 11" paper, fat and skinny pencils without erasers, and a package of crayons. Rapport was established and tne tape recorder introduced, then the examiner proceeded to conduct the "General Knowledges About Written Language" Interview. A copy of the script is available in Appendix A.

The Interview Schedule consisted of six sections:

(1) Writing Interview

(2) Transition from Writing to Reading

(3) Reading Interview (including Book Parts)

(4) Conversation Sample

(5) Prior Knowledge About Real and Make-Believe Stories

(6) Pilot Interview About Child and Adult Audiences

Writing interview. The Writing Interview was designed to elicit an actual sample of the writing performance, and metalinguistic and metacognitive explanations about how writing is identified and learned. The child was also asked questions about how grown-ups write including both verbal descriptions, imitations, and again, metacognitive probing.

I am indebted in part to Clay (1975), Goodman (1980), and Harste, Burke, and Woodward (in press) for ideas used in creating this section of the script. One distinction added in this study, however, should be

noted. That distinction is made by asking questions that do not presume that the child treats knowledge and learning as synonymous:

HOW DID YOU KNOW WHAT THAT WAS?

HOW DID YOU LEARN THAT?

The series of questions on the writing interview were posed so that the examiner could observe the order in which the child added items (cf. Goodman, 1980) and thus could observe the child's orientation to space and directionality. This spacing of elicitation also enabled the examiner to hear verbalizations during writing in order to make the use of invented spelling and writing analyses more valid.

Transition from writing to reading. The purpose of this section was to explore the child's metacognitive awareness of reading and, briefly, the relationship between reading and writing. This transitional section was used to avoid making the presumption that the child's labelling of words and other written material during writing was considered by the child to be instances of reading. The child was told that the examiner knew s/he had told the examiner what things were during writing but now to re-read what s/he had written. The examiner was able to observe the order as well as accuracy and ease with which the child read, whether the child omitted the "pretend grown-up" writing, the child's intonation, and line of regard.

At the end of reading the writing sample, the child was praised ("Hey, you are getting so that you can read what you write!") then asked questions about how the child and other people learn to read, what they

need to be able to read, and why the child thinks people need whatever s/he said.

Reading interview. This section of the General Knowledges interview was designed to tap the child's developing knowledges about reading and, in particular, about books. It is an adaptation of Goodman's (1979) Book Handling Task and Clay's (1972) Sand or Concepts of Print task. The version used in this study asked the child, first, to show the examiner the book and then to read the examiner the book. (This task has been revised in Sulzby, 1981, to put emphasis on sharing the book as a literary event before encouraging or probing for "naming of parts.")

The purpose of encouraging the child to "show" the book first was to see how the child interpreted that request. Some children take the request to mean tell about the book; others display the pictures; others begin to read or attempt to read. Some children volunteer names for book parts during their response to the "show" request.

Following the "show" requests, there were two additional script sections which were used if the child did not volunteer the relevant behaviors. First, the child was asked to identify and explain book parts (cover, pages, picture, print) and explain their functions. Second, the child was specifically asked to read the book. This request was accompanied by encouragements that gradually offered more and more examiner assistance, in relation to the child's responses. The graduated assistance was kept flexible in this study but was designed to approximate the zone of proximal development for emergent reading and to be used to refine techniques for use in future research.

Conversation sample. At this point in the interview, the examiner praised the child's performance with the book and lead into a "free-flowing" conversation about favorite stories. The purpose of this section was to get a sample of face-to-face speech interaction between the child and examiner. Other parts of the interview included interactive talk, as well, but here the goal was just to chat together about stories, then to move, conversationally, into the fifth section.

Prior knowledge about real and make-believe. This section established the baseline data for the manipulations of Study II. Two kinds of data were relevant: the real and make-believe distinction, both in terms of abstract understanding and relevant instances, and knowledge-about the specific topic, "learning to ride a big wheel." The examiner told two abbreviated stories. After each, she asked the child whether or not s/he believed or thought the event was real or make-believe. The language that was used set up these oppositions: real/make-believe and could/couldn't really happen.

In addition to reacting to the two examples, the child was asked to give three instances each of real and make-believe things that could or couldn't really happen "to you, to a boy or girl your age." Finally, the child was quizzed about learning to ride big wheels and meeting giant monsters.

Pilot interview about child and adult audiences. The purposes of this final section of the interview was to gain knowledge about the child's conscious awareness of language adaptation s/he used or could use for different audiences. The audience distinction probed was child versus

adult, since it is known that five-year old children are quite adept at such a distinction, functionally, or oral language. The examiner was urged to be inventive in probing the child's knowledge of this awareness.

These six sections comprise the total interview, "General Knowledges About Written Language." The interview furnished baseline data about the child's writing and reading performance, about the child's knowledges about the learning of writing and reading, and about the content and nature of pieces of written discourse. The baseline data was used not only for analysis but also for refining the procedures for Study II.

Study II, Real versus Make-Believe

The purpose of Study II was to compare children's productions, explanations, and behaviors when asked to "write a story," when that story must be a real story as opposed to a make-believe story. Three basic modes of composition (telling, dictating, and writing) were used.

For the story collection sessions, one of two examiners took each child separately to a quiet spot where the child was put at ease, re-acquainted with the tape-recorder and other procedures, and then asked "to write a story."

In each of the two sessions, three language productions were obtained: a told story, a dictated story, and a handwritten story. Additionally, samples of re-reading and editing were gathered for each of the two written versions. The six possible orders of telling, dictating, and writing were counterbalanced and assigned to subjects

at random, with re-reading and editing following dictating and writing wherever they appeared in the order. Real and make-believe were assigned at random across the two sessions and coordinated with the mode orders as well.

The children were told that the examiner wanted them to write a story. An abbreviated version of the directions are given below and the examiner's manual appears in Appendix A:

General directions	I WANT YOU TO WRITE A STORY FOR ME. WE WILL DO IT THREE WAYS. NOW I KNOW YOU DON'T REALLY KNOW HOW TO WRITE LIKE A GROWN-UP YET BUT YOU KNOW A LOT ABOUT WRITING. I'LL HELP YOU.
Telling	ONE OF THE THINGS PEOPLE DO TO WRITE A STORY IS TO TELL IT TO SOMEONE FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE END TO BE SURE THEY HAVE IT THE WAY THEY WANT IT TO BE. THAT'S WHAT I WANT YOU TO DO NOW. TELL ME YOUR STORY, YOUR WHOLE STORY FROM BEGINNING TO END . . . (Story directions)
Dictation	ONE OF THE THINGS PEOPLE CAN DO TO WRITE A STORY IS TO LET SOMEONE ELSE WRITE IT DOWN FOR THEM. THAT'S LIKE HAVING A SECRETARY. WE CALL IT DICTATING WHEN YOU TELL YOUR STORY AND SOMEONE ELSE WRITES IT DOWN FOR YOU. I WANT YOU TO DICTATE YOUR STORY FOR ME THIS TIME . . . (Story directions)
Writing	SOMETIMES WHEN PEOPLE WRITE A STORY THEY DO THE WRITING ON PAPER ALL BY THEMSELVES. EVEN LITTLE BOYS AND GIRLS CAN WRITE THEIR OWN STORIES. YOU CAN WRITE YOUR OWN STORY FOR ME YOUR OWN WAY. IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE JUST LIKE GROWN-UP WRITING. YOU CAN JUST DO IT YOUR OWN WAY. NOW I WANT YOU TO WRITE YOUR STORY . . . (Story directions)

The story directions were inserted into each of the three mode directions, then the directions to tell, dictate, or write were reiterated. The story directions asked alternatively for real and make-believe topics. The topic variation is shown within parentheses.

Story directions

I WANT YOU TO TELL ME YOUR STORY (DICTATE YOUR STORY TO ME, WRITE ME YOUR STORY) AND IT'S A REAL (MAKE-BELIEVE) STORY ABOUT YOU (LITTLE PRINCE/PRINCESS CHARMING) AND HOW YOU (S/HE) LEARNED HOW TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL:

ABOUT HOW YOU (S/HE) LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL,
WHAT MAKE YOU (HER/HIM) WANT TO DO IT,
AND HOW YOU (S/HE) DID IT.

Directions for re-reading were simple:

Re-reading directions

GOOD JOB. NOW I WANT YOU TO READ BACK YOUR STORY TO SEE IF IT IS JUST LIKE YOU WANT IT TO BE.

If the child protested that s/he could not read, the examiner said she could help the child and asked the child what help was wanted. If the child did not specify the kind of help but still said s/he couldn't read, the examiner initiated choral-reading and used fading techniques to determine if the child could use memory for text to continue without the examiner's help.

Editing could occur in a number of ways. The child could make voluntary changes during or following composition. All voluntary editing was recorded. Additionally, two kinds of questions were used to encourage editing that the child wanted to do or could do. Editing in

this sense is taken to indicate that the child treats the text as an entity that can be reflected upon and manipulated. The first probed editing asked the child to make judgments of desirability and the second part probed for possible changes of these three aspects of reading: word stability, letter/sound relationships, and comprehension. Only the first editing directions will be given here.

Editing directions — IS THE STORY JUST THE WAY YOU WANT IT? HOW ABOUT THIS PART? IS IT LIKE YOU WANT IT? WHY? HOW ELSE COULD YOU HAVE MADE IT?

This chapter has presented the methods used in collecting data for two studies. Study I consisted of interview data and reading and writing performances in which the child demonstrated his/her current abilities. Study II consisted of two replications of examiner-determined tasks: telling; dictating, re-reading and editing; and writing, re-reading, and editing. All data were collected from the same 24 five-year-old children during the fall of 1979.

The following chapter will present results of the major analyses conducted for this report. Some discussion of results will accompany each results section, due to the amount of data. Results of Study I will be given in the order of the original interview. Results of Study II will be presented topically and will occasionally utilize data from Study I. For this report, Study II results will be divided into three sections: (1) children's knowledges about writing; (2) emergent reading abilities for handwritten and dictated stories; and (3) comparisons across oral language/written language modes.

Chapter V

Results

Data base. The results of two studies, will be reported in this chapter. These results are taken from data collected across time from the same sample of 24 kindergarten children in an intact classroom. From Study I, the data base consists of writing samples, reading samples, and responses to interview questions. From Study II, the corpus includes comments and judgments the children volunteered, the examiner's written observations, and a number of language samples across modes. The language samples are listed in logical order but were collected in the randomized order as explained in Chapter IV. All samples not written during the session were transcribed.

Language samples

Told Story
Dictation (verbal)
Dictation (taken by scribe)
Re-reading of Dictation
Editing of Dictation (Including Aspects of Reading sampling)
Handwritten story
Child's verbalizations while writing
Re-reading of handwritten story
Editing of handwritten story (including Aspects of Reading sampling)

The results for Study I will be presented in the order in which they were collected. Results for Study II will be arranged topically and will incorporate data from Study I when appropriate. Each section of the results of Study II will be discussed briefly. The first section is Children's Knowledges About Writing. This section is basically

descriptive. The second section reports on the measurement of emergent reading abilities for handwritten and dictated stories. The final section, Comparison Across Modes, will focus on distinctions across the oral language/written language modes. The distinctions between telling and dictating will be presented as prosodic differences. These differences will be analyzed for adaptations toward the related modes of conversation and handwritten compositions. Finally, the written transcripts of the told and dictated stories will be compared in three ways: holistic judgments of understandability to an absent audience; completeness of context; and complexity as judged by a genre-analysis using an adapted story grammar. Results will be summarized again in Chapter VI.

Study I Results

Writing Interview

The writing interview conducted in Study I, General Knowledges About Written Language, had two purposes. The first purpose was to describe children's ability to produce and discuss writing. The second purpose was to compare children's writing performance in Study I with their writing performance when asked to write stories in Study II. The interview consisted of a writing sample and an interview about knowing and learning.

Writing sample. Children were asked to produce and label anything they could write. Thus the child could control the task demands. There was one exception to this "basic competency level" and that was the request for a description and imitation of grown-up writing, but even in this task the expectation was established that the child was describing the behavior of someone else.

The writing sample data may be summarized around these questions: (1) what did the child write in response to the examiner's request? (2) what did the child call the writing or say about the writing and/or the task? (3) how did the child incorporate new resources? (4) how did the child respond to a task outside his/her current competency? (5) how did the child structure the writing on the paper? Three scorers examined the protocols from Study I, and summarized answers to these five questions for each child. The results were then tallied.

What children wrote and said about writing. The most frequent response to the question, "What can you write?" is a prompt, energetic, and confident reply: "My name." Tallying across questions one and two,

22 of the 24 children wrote their name. Additionally, one other child added his name voluntarily at the end of the session. The final child was able to write his name and did so on direct request.

Children described this more frequent piece of writing by appropriate terminology. The most frequent description was to pronounce the name itself ("Jason" or "Irene Walsey") or to say "That's my name." Nineteen children used this form of description and three others were slightly more technical, including language about language:

(a) "my name in writing"

(b) "my name," then child said last four of six letters by letter name, spelling while writing.

(c) "the letters in my name"

Children wrote a number of other things besides their own names. These offerings could be described as discrete units rather than compositions intended as texts (in contrast to Study II). Children wrote the names of other people; other individual words; the alphabet, in whole or part; individual letters; or their telephone number. Two children drew pictures. Of the 24 children, 13 produced these additional responses. Here is a display of descriptions of the products and the children's verbal labels.

Child	Writing	Label
#4	An upper-case letter	"R"
#5	Alphabet, in sequence	"the whole alphabet in small letters," "T-U-V-W-X-Y-Z"
#7	A word list consisting of cat, sat, do, doe, dog, hat, mat, rap	Called words by names.

Child	Writing	Label
#8	Cat, hat	Called words by names.
#11	Telephone number in numerals	"My telephone number"
#12	Drew picture and wrote names	"Pictures and names"
#13	Drew a face	"a face"
#14	Numerous letters	Called by letter names
#15	Full alphabet in upper-case	Sang the alphabet song
#17	love	"I love you" "L, O, V, and E"
#20	R, F	"An R and a F"
#21	Telephone number in numerals, gun, exit	"My telephone number," "gun," "a gun," "exit" "E-X-I-T"
#23	Alphabet in upper case, dog, cat	"A-B-C . . . Z" "dog and cat" "D-O-G-C-A-T"

Incorporation of new resources. For the requests, "what can you write?" children produced items they could write in conventional English orthography. They used conventional and accurate verbal labels for these offerings. This is in contrast to the new resources they incorporate when the tasks they attempt become more demanding, as in Study II and in the request to show the examiner how grown-ups write. For questions one and two, only one child produced what might have been an invented spelling. The child said he was writing God. The production could come from sound-letter matches or from attempting to remember a visual array.

Tasks outside current competency. As mentioned above, children did incorporate new resources when a more difficult task was set for them. Question three asked: "How do grown-ups write? Show me (pretend)." This task was treated as a reasonable question by the children but clearly required them to call upon new physical and verbal resources. Two children had improper elicitation probes for question three and both children refused to try the task. Of the 22 with proper elicitations, only two (9%) refused the task.

The responses show that children had abstracted features of adult writing and could imitate cursive writing, incorporating those features. (This ability to imitate script was then used as a resource by some children in Study II.)

What was the nature of children's attempts to "write like grown-ups do"? Nine children produced scribble-like forms. (One child produced a scribble-like motion in the air but refused to do it on paper.) Four children (including two of the nine scribblers) produced letter-like joined forms. Three other children were able to produce elements of actual cursive writing. Five children produced variations, four of which were explained as reasonable by the child's explanation. For example, one child had written letters randomly spaced over the page as samples of his own writing. For grown-up writing, he wrote six upper-case letters in a line together like a word and said: "They write in a line." One other child gave a stylistic distinction; grown-ups write his formal first name whereas he writes his nickname. Two other children wrote lower case letters or smaller letters for grown-up writing as

compared to their own larger writing. Only one production was not easily interpretable as showing features abstracted from adult writing. The product looked like a triangle. The child's label ("a triangle") did not aid the interpretation and she did not respond to other probes.

What was the nature of children's attempts to describe grown-up writing? In addition to the brief examples given above, children used three major labels for adult writing: "scribble," "script" or "cursive." These responses were given by ten children and nine children gave other responses all related to features of adult writing.

The "other" responses included saying grown-ups write like the examiner who actually was writing in cursive during the interview. Two children said grown-ups write "just like you" or "like you write." Two children commented on the continuity or linearity of adult writing: "when you do it all together" and "they write in a line." Two children commented on the size and/or form of letter differences: "they write with little letters," and "they write in little letters and big letters."

The ability to abstract features from writing that is in advance of the current competency level was thus seen in two areas. Children could physically form these features with their pencils and they were able to describe these features verbally.

Structuring of the page. Children had been given a sheet of 8½ x 11" unlined paper. The purpose of this kind of paper was to observe what knowledges children would display about the directionality and spacing of writing. Twenty-three of the 24 children were assessed in this way. One child was erroneously allowed two pieces of paper and wrote one entry on

each page, thus directionality and spacing could not be described.

Only one child seemed to place items at random on the page. Most children (15) wrote items top to bottom; two additional children wrote primarily top to bottom. Three wrote bottom to top and two others added some items to the top.

In addition to the direction in which items were placed, children were able to display their knowledge about how items get joined and separated. In this interview, children did not produce sentences and larger texts. Children's structuring choices were either to display items in columns (16), lines (3), both columns and lines (3), or randomly (1 child).

In summary, children showed a level of basic, conventional competency both in performance and in verbal description. The emergence of any aspect of conventional performance is important. Hildreth (1936) has traced children's natural acquisition of name writing and has shown that they abstract features of their own name long before they master the conventional form. More recently, Simmer (1981) has documented the pervasiveness of natural patterns in letter-printing acquisition even in the face of direct teaching of other systems. When natural acquisition from the literacy culture evolved toward the adult convention, an important new kind of baseline is established.

This new conventional baseline and the baselines of natural acquisition are both important complementary parts of a description of acquisition. Thus we pushed the children above their conventional limits. When pressed above their current level of conventional performance,

children call upon new resources that they have abstracted from the written language they see used around them. The contents of the new resources consist both of written performance itself and of verbal description of this performance. Part of the written performance extension of resources is evident in Study I. Study II presents more evidence. The next section discusses aspects of the children's verbal description.

Interview about knowing and learning. Two questions were designed to explore the child's understanding of his/her own knowledge and learning about writing.

HOW DID YOU KNOW WHAT THAT WAS?

HOW DID YOU LEARN THAT?

The questions were asked after each request for the child to write (questions 1 and 2). Later, in the optional parts of question 3, the child could have been asked how grown-ups learned to write. This third question was inserted to compare the child's understanding of his/her own learning with that of older members of the literacy society.

Children attribute their learning both to other people, to their own efforts and knowledge states, and to things in the environment. Children agree with the retrospective literature on early reading and writing (Clark, 1976; Durkin, 1966) in that they think they learned to write by being taught by relatives, particularly by their mother or both parents.

All 24 children answered these questions. Nineteen of these children (79%) mention other people as teachers or providers of help.

Mother was mentioned alone by eight children; mom and day, by six; and mom in combination with other relatives, by 16 children. Friends were mentioned twice and a teacher only once. It is possible that two other children intended references to teachers but they only mentioned "my other school" and "learned at school."

Of the five children who did not specifically mention people other than themselves, three mentioned literacy agencies: the ABC's; the alphabet; my other school; TV; knowing how to spell. Two children gave vague answers: "I just learned," "just did," and "fooling around." These latter answers were also used by other children and may refer to knowledge states.

While the children did refer to other people, particularly parents, as teaching them, they also attributed learning to their own efforts and own knowledge states. Fourteen of the 24 mention their own efforts as contributing to their learning. They mention copying, learning the alphabet, "practice," wanting to know and asking someone, spelling, and "learning myself." Six children describe their knowledge states as "just knowing" and two further specify that they know because they can read what they wrote.

Some of the children distinguished between knowing and learning; others did not. Data mentioned above combines answers to both questions. Here is an example of how children treated the two questions as being different and requiring different answers.

One girl explained that her mother taught her and that her own maturation and effort were important as well:

Question 1--

HOW DID YOU KNOW WHAT THAT WAS?

My mom taught me.
I wanted to know how my name was in writing.

HOW DID YOU LEARN THAT?

Well, I copied it sort of.

Question 2--

HOW DID YOU KNOW WHAT THAT WAS?

Cause I am a growing girl.

HOW DID YOU LEARN THAT?

It just takes practice.

Seventeen of the children were asked the optional question about how grown-ups learned to write. Nine children attributed the learning of grown-ups to parents as well. Only three children mentioned school as a source of grown-ups' knowledge. Four children said they did not know how grown-ups learned and one child gave an unprobed irrelevant response. There was a tendency for children to attribute their own learning strategies to grown-ups. There was a real discrepancy in only two cases, children who said grown-ups learned in school but they themselves learned from parents.

Transition From Writing to Reading

Each child was asked to re-read what s/he had written in entirety, as a separate act of reading. All of the children were able to perform this task with ease and were praised for learning to read what they could write.

The children were then quizzed about how they and other people learned to read and what people need so that they can read. Once again the children mention other people as sources of help. The response categories are similar to those for writing. When responses are classified primary reason, eleven children give other people as the source of learning to read. "School" was mentioned by only three children. Five children mention their own efforts alone. Two children said they did not know the answer and one simply said, "I don't know. With a pencil." The question was omitted for two children.

Many of the explanations contained combinations of sources. Here is a combination answer that stresses the child's own efforts:

> Well, first you have to start to memorize, then you have to look real hard and then you know all those other things, and then pretty soon you'll start to read.

In this example, interaction between people over books involving parts of the effort is outlined lucidly by the child:

> Sometimes they sound out the letters and sometimes people read them to them. They just read them and whoever is listening to the book can learn how to read by just the letters.

The results Transition from Writing to Reading Interview can be compared with the name writing results from the Writing Interview. Both present evidence that adult-like, conventional performance is already evident at some point for all of these five-year-old children. They have both feature-like emerging abilities as acquisitional baselines and a point of conventional performance. Thus it can be argued

that their concepts of reading and writing contain aspects of natural acquisition and of the conventional model they are moving toward.

Reading Interview

In the Reading Interview children were asked to display their knowledge about book parts (cover, page, print, picture) and their purposes and to read any part of a favorite book that they could read. I am going to give only an overview of the results for two reasons. First, our work in 1979-80 was exploratory. The examiners were concerned with not frustrating the children and did not yet have good techniques to encourage children to press their limits. Second, our subsequent work has shown that children's performances are much richer if the storybook reading is first and if the examiner responds to it solely as a sharing of literature.

Book parts. All children in this study picked up their chosen book themselves, oriented it correctly, and distinguished most parts functionally. Overall, their labels and explanations for book parts was quite good. Children seem to prefer some labels over others. For example, book covers are more often called the front of the book; first pages are often called the starting. Oftentimes, labels were hard to elicit until after the child mentioned the function. A few children said pages were "for writing on," or "for the pictures to be written on." These responses might be early cues that the children are aware that books have authors.

Storybook reading. The following frequencies are unduely skewed toward omissions and refusals. Nevertheless, they do capture categories found in our subsequent work and the examples are useful.

Categories	Number of Children
Omitted by examiner	5
Refusals	7
Without reason (2)	
Discussed conditions in which could read (4)	
"Read" silently (1)	
Aspectual Focus	3
Sounding-out (1)	
Known words (1)	
Memory and words (1)	
Created text to go with pictures	8
Telling language (2)	
Book language (4)	
Reading prosody (2)	
Independent reading	1

One result of this study was our growing knowledge that the children were willing to try to read children's storybooks and were not frustrated if given matter-of-fact reasurances. The omissions were all due to decisions by one examiner that the children might be frustrated. Later, that examiner became convinced that she had been too concerned.

The results are skewed toward refusals as well as omissions, but only two of these refusals are unexplained. Probably most of these children could have been enticed to try, using the graduated set of probes we developed as a result of this study.

It is hard to determine the actual level of these refusals. I have noted two levels of refusal, a low level and advanced level, as has Myna Haussler (personal communication). Nevertheless, the explained refusals themselves enrich our understanding of what children think reading is. One child pretended to read silently. Of the four children who explained how they would be able to read, one boy explained he would be able to go "vroom" across the lines with his eyes when he gets older. Two others said they could read if they could remember the story and one other said sounding-out words was the missing element. These children indicate awareness of the three aspects of reading and perhaps would have demonstrated that kind of pretend-reading with more assured probings.

Here is an example of a child who refused to read but explained how he could read when he gets older and can read some things now. He seems to be focusing on the aspect of memory for text.

> Child 9 (boy): "If I were in first grade it would be a little cincher, like a friend of mine is. You already--I know how I learned to read. First I just have to listen to people read. Then [I] can remember it and then [I] can read it. That's how I learned to read--I can read lots of books of my own at home." (Later he told story about Curious George. It was clearly telling about the story and not pretend-reading.)

The aspectual focus category is lower in this study than in subsequent work. Again, I think this is due to the level of our techniques. Creation of text to go with pictures seems realistically frequent and, indeed, we learned from these children who bravely created texts for us.

I have distinguished three kinds of created texts in this group: children who sound as if they are telling a story for an audience; children who use book-like phrasing; and children who use reading prosody as well as book-like language. These children reveal a high level of knowledge about books and reading.

In these examples of created texts the children were observed to be looking at the pictures. Other children who look at the pictures and talk often engage in far less mature reading-like behaviors. The two children who were classified as using telling languages in this sample are already at a stage where their telling is creation of a textual entity with clear awareness of the examiner as an audience. The first example is a child who began to "read" with very little urging:

Child 16 (girl): (Rapid speech) One day the mother told them to go out and teach them how to swim. The other ducks went in the water and took water--and the mother duck went in with the other ducks swimming--and the seven little ducks--and the other ducks went in the water and one watched the other ducks--and the mother said, "You have to go out there and try to swim with the other little ducks."

Well, he did one day with his mother and he did it, but when the mother took the other ducks to the shore and it dived for a fish, the mother dived in to help, and the six little ducks dived, but the seventh little duck didn't dive, and, um, and then they said, "It's time to go up from the river and go to sleep." So they went to sleep and the next morning they said the seventh little duck, "Sorry, you'll have to leave because you're not ready." And they left. And an apple dropped right on him and he went under the water and the mother and father got him back and then they learned how to dive. Finished.

The second child who was classified as using telling language may be mis-classified because the sample is so brief. Nevertheless, he uses no book-like phrasing, uses unspecified pronouns, and did not use reading prosody. His introduction is interesting because he shows ambivalence about whether or not he can "pretend-read."

Examiner:	Child 24 (boy):
Read me the book. (Cordoroy)	I can't read any of it.
Pretend.	I don't even know how to read it for pretend.
Well, try.	(No response.)
What can I help you with?	These are two pages I can't read.
Can you read the other pages?	Yeah.
OK, go on.	I can read this page, not this page.
OK, read it for me.	(Long pause; examiner interpreted child as becoming frustrated.)
You going to read it for me?	I can pretend. (Pause) I think I can read it for pretend.
OK, read it for me.	I can't. I can only read it for pretend.
OK, read it for pretend.	I can't.
Can you do something?	All I can do is the last page: She sewed a button on the bear's suspenders. Cause one of the buttons are gone. She knew it was missing. That's all I can read.

The telling language label may become clearer when compared with children who use book language, or phrases rarely heard in normal speech (cf. Cazden, in press; and Holdaway, 1979). Below I have underlined book-like phrases. This girl also paused between "sentences" and turned the pages as if reading.

Child 5 (girl): Once there was a girl named Peggy and she found a penny. She put a penny in a gumball machine but she didn't get, get a penny, a gumball, she got a shiny ring. She wanted it, she wondered if the shiny would come off if she rubbed it. She rubbed it and the thunders came out as loud as she ever heard. Peggy--but soon appeared a little boy angel. "Who are you?" asked Peggy. "I am a little boy angel. I am here to grant you one wish."
"I thought it was supposed to be sweet and everything," said Peggy. "Well, I can leave you one wish." (Then the child told examiner she couldn't do any more.)

One other girl "read" this story. She also used book-like language but she did not structure the conversational exchange like the example girl did. Interestingly enough, the boy angel was transformed into a tooth fairy in her story (cf. Paley, 1981) but she distinguished between her story and the "real" story.

The final type of textual creation to accompany the pictures was to use patterned language. One girl used the same pattern throughout an entire book: "I am Xing the X." This "reading" was done in reading-like prosody with simple, repetitive "sentences" clearly signalled in her speech which was collated with page-turning.

In this sample, only one child was able to read a storybook independently in October. In our 1980 sample, there were a few more children who showed the ability to read independently. Later analysis of rereadings of dictated and handwritten stories indicated that more children from this sample could read those kinds of texts independently. It is impossible to determine now whether this low frequency for storybook reading was accurate or depressed by our techniques.

The major results of this interview were (1) these children have a great deal of knowledge about reading and (2) there appear to be developmental patterns in emergent-reading abilities for favorite storybooks. We are limited in our ability to use the results of this sample of storybook reading in direct analyses but we have used them to refine our subsequent techniques and to begin to develop a scale for emergent reading of favorite storybooks.

Conversation Sample

Conversation samples were rarely gathered as we had planned. The conversation sample was intended to grow out of the storybook reading as a "free-flowing conversation" about favorite books. Most of the "samples" can be classified as "bad," "sparce," or "interrogation."

The placement of the sample was wrong. We had already set up an adult-child interrogation pattern by our interview techniques. Second, we realized that the IRE pattern Mehan (1979) identified was a very ingrained part of our language interaction. We did not use conversation ourselves--we initiated (I), waited all too briefly for a child's response (R), then we evaluated (E), and started over.

The results of this venture were, as with the storybook reading, clues to revise our techniques. In subsequent work we have gathered a conversation sample before any other exchanges and have tried to set conditions for real conversation where both partners raise topics, where topics can die, and where pauses can occur. More importantly, however, we have begun to analyze dialogue, more broadly and look for instances during tasks where the child initiates dialogue for his/her own purposes. In spite of these shortcomings, however, we were assured that all of these children except one could interchange conversationally with adults rather easily.

Prior Knowledge About Real and Make-Believe

In Study II we wanted to ask children to write real and make-believe stories about a given topic. Thus in Study I it was necessary to assess the children's prior knowledge of that distinction as well as their prior knowledge about the specific topic.

Children were told two abbreviated stories, one about an event that could happen (seeing a tree with pretty colored leaves) and the second about a fantastic event (seeing a big, green dragon). All of the children said they believed the first event, that it was real or could happen. Similarly, all rejected the dragon as being real. When they were asked to give three instances each of real and make-believe events, all were able to do so except one child for whom the examiner forgot to ask for the make-believe instances. In these instances, the children easily used conditional constructions and modals: "if," "can," "could," "might," etc.

Two topics were probed: learning to ride a big wheel and meeting a giant monster. Twenty-three children said a child could learn to ride a big wheel and they themselves had. One child said he couldn't, "Not until I bought one--not till dad taught me how." (Subsequently, in Study II, he distinguished between himself and LPC as protagonists but all four of his stories were about someone wanting to learn because they never learned before.) All of the children called the giant monster event make-believe, not real.

Thus it can be concluded that these children can distinguish between real and make-believe whether or not they will under all conditions and for all purposes. These results should not be generalized to all children nor to all conditions of personal interchange. Paley's (1981; see also Applebee, 1978) conversations with children are evidence that children do not fully treat fantasy and reality in the same way adults do. Additionally, we have begun, with the urging of the children's teacher, to explore the role of possibilities for children at this age. The results can be used to indicate a baseline distinction between something that did happen (learning to ride a big wheel, bike, or green machine) and something that didn't but, in make-believe, might.

Pilot Interview on Audience

The final part of the interview was designed to explore the child's ability to distinguish between child and adults as audiences. Briefly, we learned that while the children would say they talk differently to little children and grown-ups, they were not very skilled at explaining the nature

of the differences. Nor were we very skilled at eliciting these explanations.

We have since broadened our conception of audience awareness and manipulated child/adult audiences with the 1980-81 sample. Within audience awareness, we include such indicators as all signs of monitoring, such as self-corrections and asides; decontextualizations within pretend-readings; and topic choices for specific people (see Graves, 1979b, on the point of audience effects upon topic choice).

Study II Results

Children's Knowledges About Writing

This section will be an abbreviated description of children's knowledges about writing which will be expanded in a forthcoming paper. Examples will be used but frequencies will not be given. Questions and examples will be presented in narrative form. The data come from three samples, the Writing Interviews in Study I (previously described) and the two handwritten story attempts from Study II, Topic Effects: Real Versus Make-Believe Stories. The data analysis is based upon summaries drawn from the protocols by the senior researcher and two assistants. Descriptions were generated for each child organized around these categories: use of page space; word boundaries; directionality; graphic representation (printed letters, scribble, joined letter-like forms, elements of actual cursive script, drawing); message representation (conventional, invented spelling, other); production style (speed, vocalization, pauses); editing (voluntary, general, specific) and re-reading.

Three questions will be addressed here: (1) What knowledges do these five-year-old children have about how messages get written? (2) How do children choose to write a message, given the knowledges they have available to them? (3) What do children reveal in their writing about their concepts about authors, audiences, and reading?

Knowledges about how messages get written. Clay (1975) and others (Bissex, 1980; Deford, 1978; Goodman, 1980; Graves, 1979a,b; Gundlach, in press; and Read, 1975) have documented children's early writing attempts. In Study I, we noted that children used conventional

spelling as their overwhelming choice when asked, "What can you write?" Earlier, this response was called a basic, conventional baseline for these five-year-old children. What was written in Study I tended to be names and isolated known words, numerals, letter, and letter sequences like the alphabet.

When pressed to go beyond their conventional resources in Study I, the children demonstrated that they could imitate grown-up writing in certain ways. They were not trying to encode a message, however.

In Study II, we asked children to compose a story. So the demand on the children was increased: create a whole, a story. The story had a specified topic. For these children, this demand meant that they must deal with a task outside their conventional resources.

The kinds of knowledges that children have include refusing to write. If you have a notion of what a task demands, you can assess whether or not you can do it. These children all knew conventional writing and spelling of at least one word, their own name. They could compare their ability to write their name to the task of writing a and say "I can't do that."

Children know writing is connected to other forms of representation. They could choose to draw their story, or to talk about it, explaining how they might do it. Some children used these kinds of knowledge.

Other children used writing-like forms, like scribbling or separated curved forms. Others used strings of letters or name-elements to stand for their stories. Still others used invented spelling systems,

varying from one letter to stand for one word, to non-exclusive spellings, to exclusive, sequential spellings of the kind Read (1975) and Beers and Henderson (1977) have described. Some vocalized while writing and others did not. A few children could use a number of conventional spellings or would enlist the examiner as informant.

One important finding, no matter what knowledges the children used nor in what task order writing occurred, was that children tended not to write long messages. Writing requires effort and the five-year-old children in this study told adults about it: "Whew! That's all I can do!" So the knowledge they all implied was: messages get written with effort.

How children chose to write messages. In Study I, we did not ask children to write messages or content, and they usually wrote words as lists. In Study II, we asked them to write stories, a real story and a make-believe story. In the design used, some of the children had already done the story as a told and/or as a dictated (and re-read) story. All of the children had previously talked about the related topic, learning to ride a big wheel (or bicycle).

Children had many possible responses available to them when asked to write a story. One response available to these children would be to refuse the task, to say "I can't write" and not try. Since we had a sample of writing from all of the children in Study I, this response clearly called for a qualification by the child. Examiners encouraged children to try, to pretend, to do it "your way."

Only one child, a boy, completely refused to attempt to write in both sessions of Study II. He took part in all other parts of the study, including editing his dictation. He had written his own name and mom in Study I. He had described grown-up writing as scribble but refused to try it on paper. His only explanations for refusing in Study II were that he couldn't write and that he was tired, giving big yawns. The examiner thought he might cry in the first session (real) and that he was giving exaggerated almost-fake yawns in the second session (make-believe). The possible significance of these yawns should not be overlooked, however. Writing was last in his assigned task order. We observe children yawning and giving other signs of fatigue, pressure, and effort during writing attempts. It's hard to interpret this child's yawns from the evidence but the behavior may be significant.

Other children used modified refusals as their response. They said they could "only write" things in their conventional repertoire, like their names. Or they said they could only do the story by drawing. One of these children "re-read" her dictated story from the picture. Others refused to treat the picture or written name or word list as being the story.

Some children responded by using a graphic system that resembled writing but was not composed of writing. One girl wrote in a scribble-like form with some letter-like features but said it "doesn't say anything" and it couldn't be made to say anything because "I can't spell."

Another child used an intriguing pretend-writing system. The most impressive part of his system was that it sounded like adult, fluent writing to the examiner. He "wrote" left-to-right, top-to-bottom, making semi-circularish marks, rapidly. He used a slender pencil and made two distinctive sounds on paper. He struck the paper with a staccato-like impact, then made an emphatic writing-like sound while he formed the shapes. He filled three pages, then went back and struck the second paper with the pencil near the bottom between two of the marks. When he was asked what that was he said it was "a dot," "to split the word," "when it comes to make a new word."

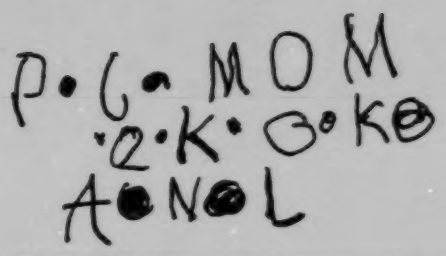
This was Clifford's second story. In the first story he had refused to write anything except his conventional repertoire, his name, his telephone number in numerals, and no. His told and dictated stories tended to be long, usually conversational and involved, yet he finally resolved one into a well-formed complex story. His concept for reading involved speed; he said that when he could read he would be able to go vroom over the lines. I speculate that Clifford is working on making the low level processes work as fast as his ideas and that slowing-down may be an important step for him.

Children do use invented phonetically-based spellings as documented in other studies but these spellings are augmented by other knowledges about writing. Some children write what appear to be random letters or letter-like forms. Occasionally, they insert parts of known sequences like alphabet or their name but random strings prevail. In the current study we observed children to treat this system of "writing"

in two different ways when asked to re-read the story. Some children refuse to re-read these strings. They may say this writing "says nothing" or "doesn't spell nothing." Other children do not look at this print while "re-reading," but look off in space and recite a story, often the one they said aloud while writing or gave as a told or dictated story. (In a subsequent study we have observed some children acting as if they are tracking print while "re-reading" such strings.)

Another writing strategy that does not appear to be phonetically based, yet seems different from the random string, is the use of a child's own name or name elements to create a fairly long written document. One child in the current study did this for both stories although there are some possible invented spellings in her second story. Unfortunately, she did not vocalize while writing. In re-reading, she told a story to accompany the print. (In a subsequent study, one child used her name elements alongside and competing with invented spelling. She said <u>came</u> was <u>KAM</u>, <u>MEAN</u>, and <u>MEGNE</u> and she verbalized her reasoning which impled that a word does not have to have a constant spelling.)

Within invented spellings, we observed children who wrote using only one letter for each word. We saw this behavior at an advanced and less mature level. One girl used invented spelling for her first story with no spaces between words. Evidently on her second story, she wanted to represent word boundaries graphically. She said she would write letters to "stand for" words:

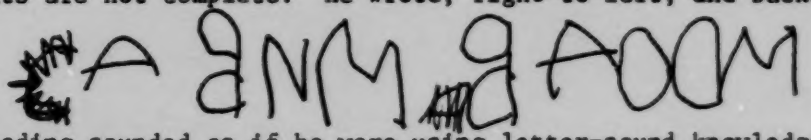


She re-read this composition in telegraphese, tracking print, as "Prince Charming (L=J) Mom helped (dictated as owned). King owned castle (KO). A nest laid." Her oral stories sounded like basal reader stories:

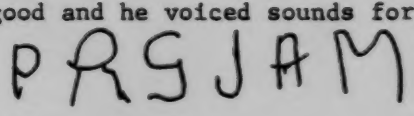
Child 22 (girl), Dictation:

> Prince Charming's dad helped to learn how to ride a big wheel. The owner of the palace was Prince Charming. A nest laid in a tree in the palace. The end.

The less mature version of this one letter per word writing system was also not quite one graph per oral word. Instead, the boy seemed to stretch his pointing out to match his voice, although the examiner's comments are not complete. He wrote, right-to-left, and backward:



His reading sounded as if he were using letter-sound knowledge: "Mmmy mmmom--bought mmme a big, big wheel." By his second story he wrote left-to-right and represented major word parts but said the two words Prince Charming were all he could do. His invented spelling of these two words is quite good and he voiced sounds for the letters as he wrote them:

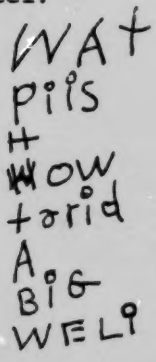


In the prototypical invented spelling examples, children primarily encode with consonants and omit vowels or substitute related vowels for

conventional ones (Gentry & Henderson, 1978). In compositions, a child using this writing system often omits spaces between word boundaries and continues across lines. A girl using this system wrote a long composition. Here are lines five and six which she encoded as, "She started to grow and she wanted to have a big wheel." Note that she does not have one non-exclusive unit each for have, a, and big although she did for most words. Word stability in composing and in re-reading was not yet complete for her.

5. SESDRDTOEGRO
6. ANQSEWATTOHBAGWEL

Children do a number of things to show word boundaries as they become more aware of these divisions. One of those devices was evident in the example above, using dots to separate word units. Another device is the use of lines as columns. Children may write one unit (or so) per line, one under another. One boy did this in all his samples. Here is his re-reading of his final story which he sounded out and spelled out while he wrote: "What Prince Charming (pause) how to (pause) ride (pause) ride a big (long pause) big wheel--why Prince Charming--how to ride a big wheel."



This child was coming close to independence in reading and seemed to try to align his eyes, voice, and pointing. Perhaps columnar display aids this process for some children. The child who seemed to be the most mature composer in handwriting used the full lines, non-spaced technique to create a quite full story. She became confused in re-reading, lost her place and claimed she couldn't read parts of her composition: "I can't read these scribbled words". She could read her dictated story word-by-word, pointing as she read. She complained further about her own handwritten version: "Those words are so funny I can't read them."

These examples show ways children choose to write messages with their current knowledges. As I discussed these ways, I also alluded to knowledges children have about reading, about the author-audience relationship.

Knowledges about authors and readers. The children in this study showed some awareness of audience in the sense of monitoring and evaluating their productions. Some of the children edited voluntarily, seemingly on the basis of correctness to their judgment. Their efforts still seem to be governed more by what they can do and the effort it requires than by a strong sense of adaptations that would help a reader. They often refused to re-read non-conventional writing attempts, but the judgments did not directly reveal awareness of audience. Rather, the judgments seemed to be based more upon the writing as production rather than upon the writer as producer: "It doesn't say anything."

Audience awareness seems far more evident in the less effort-requiring modes of telling and dictating, as would be expected. Also,

the methodology used may have constrained the child's writing attempts. From pilot work, I had expected more drawing with the children explaining that a drawing would tell more. (Subsequently, we have found that to be the case with a changed elicitation procedure.)

The children do show evidence of a set of standards that develop concerning whether or not another person could read the production. We have found two levels of refusal to re-read one's own compositions. The less mature level is to deny the writing can be read or that the child should write because it "doesn't say anything." The more mature level of refusal is based upon the child's growing awareness that his/her writing is not conventional.

During the task itself, children participate in activities that illustrate things authors have to do. The children pause and plan, they encode sound into print, they scratch out and edit, they re-read for accuracy and sense, and they reject the possibilities that they are able to do certain writing tasks in a way that a reader could read. The children in this study ranged widely in their ability to perform these activities. One indirect way to gauge their understandings of the writer-reader relationship is to look in more detail at children's emerging abilities to re-read their own dictated as well as handwritten compositions.

Emergent Reading Abilities: Dictated and Handwritten Stories[3]

In chapter two of this report, I argued that different kinds of texts provide different supports and make different demands for the young child who is moving toward independence in reading. This child can be called a pre-reader or an emergent reader so long as we understand the connotation of those terms. I have distinguished between pre-reading and independent reading yet have emphasized the fact that children's pre-reading behaviors are emerging toward independent reading. Holdaway (1979) objects to the term pre-reading which seems to imply that the early behaviors are not reading. He prefers the term emergent reading or reading-like behaviors which I have also used freely.

In this section of chapter five, I will present a description of the children's emergent reading abilities for their dictated and handwritten stories, along with a scaling of stages which I think are qualitatively different. I have quantified this scale (Sulzby, 1981b), as Emergent Reading Abilities Judgments or "Reading Judgments" but the title needs further specificity. These Judgments were based upon reading of the children's own dictated and handwritten compositions alone and not on reading other kinds of texts.

Analysis. The senior investigator content-analyzed the children's reading attempts for both sessions. Those attempts consist of two kinds: the child's re-reading the scribe's copy of the child's dictation and re-reading the child's own handwritten story. All children gave an initial response, which could be either to refuse to try to read or to try, using

different strategies. Some of the children were prompted to try after initial refusals and other children were asked to use a second examiner-suggested strategy. The Reading Judgments scale was constructed to apply only to the child's initial, unprompted attempt.

In all cases, the re-reading attempt and composition were treated as a unit. The content analysis resulted in seven categories which can be divided into two parts. There are two categories in which the child did not produce an actual story. There are five categories in which stories were produced but the child's re-reading attempts vary. I will give a description and example of each of the seven categories, numbered from one to seven.

One. This is the lowest category. It is essentially a refusal of the task. The child will not try to dictate nor to write his/her own story, even with urging to "pretend" or to try with the examiner's aid. In these instances, there are necessarily no re-reading attempts.

Child 20 (boy) refused to try to write or dictate for session one. He drew a picture of a bench after saying he couldn't write. He said, "I can color something of it," but never was clear about any connection between the drawing and the story. His response to the request to re-read was, "No. I didn't write. I can't write." His reaction to dictation was also a refusal based on not being able to do it: "I don't know a story. I don't wanta do this."

Two. This is the lowest category in which the child produces "primitive attempts" at handwritten composition or dictation, but the production cannot be called a story. The handwritten "story" may be

only randomly spaced letters or a word or two. The dictation is either treated as one conversational turn like, "By watching other people," or seems only to be responses to examiner's questions. At this level the child re-reads none or very little.

Child 24, Daniel, was a "one" for both compositions of the first session but a "two" for both parts of session two. His handwritten attempt was a drawing of a big wheel with some writing-like forms on it. He made comments about what he could put in the story. He said he could only "write a picture of my big wheel." When asked to re-read he said he could spell his last name real fast and did. His dictation was conversational; the examiner asked questions to keep him going and he addressed questions and comments to her as if the "dictation" were a personal address. Then he claimed he couldn't read it: "I don't know how to do that!" (He put his hands over his face.) "I haven't even tried that at my house."

The next five categories are comprised of times in which the child composed stories. In each category, the nature of the child's re-reading attempts are different. The length of the handwritten story is not important but there must be a clear intent to write a story.

Three. In the third category the child is able to dictate an entity without prompting from the examiner. In handwritten attempts, the child does clearly attempt to write a story, not just isolated words or symbols. The writing may be scribble or other non-letter forms or it may be only a brief start that the child gives up on in fatigue.

When the child attempts to re-read s/he does not look at print. For the dictation, s/he may claim, "I can't read." or attempt one phrase or so and quit saying, as did Terry (boy number four), "I just can't read it."

Four. The child dictates a story or whole composition and writes at least part of an intended whole. The child will attempt to re-read but his/her eyes will not be on the print. The nature of the utterances during the "re-reading" indicate that the story is not stable in memory even though it is similar to the original story. The operational definition used to judge that the story is not "stable" is that there are one or more clauses added, omitted,or out of order.

Here is an example from Jessica, child one, comparing her dictation with her re-reading attempt. The lack of stability is evident in the comparison. The examiner noted that she "never put her eyes on the print" while "re-reading."

Dictation:	Re-reading:
I ride on my big	I ride on my bike
wheel so fast.	with my mommy.
I ride it	I ride my bike
slow and fast.	with my brother.
My mommy rides	And I ride
my bike	my bike
with me	with my dad
and I color	and myself
and I walk	and that's all, that's all.
. . .	

Five. In four, the child seemed aware that the composed "story" was an entity and that re-reading required an entity to be said as well. It is not clear that the child thinks these versions are the same entity.

By the firth emergent reading level, the child indicates an understanding of story stability. The child composes a whole, then uses that same stable whole in re-reading attempts even though the child's eyes are still not on print. The story may not be verbatim to the original but there are no added, omitted, or out-of-order clause-sized units. The child's re-reading from writing may either be what the child said during writing or stable with the dictated or told story.

Here are parts of Jason's (child nine) dictation and re-reading. This example shows that the story is not remembered verbatim but the changes are not at the clause level.

Dictation:	Re-reading:
Well, first I	When I saw
saw it	a big wheel
on T.V.	on T.V.
that it was	I thought it looked
so easy.	so easy
And then	and my birthday
my birthday	was so close
was getting	. . .
[close] . . .	

Six. At level six, the child's eyes are on print but there is evidence that the child isn't tracking the print accurately. The story recited in re-reading is stable with the original. The written story can be composed in pretend-cursive if there is evidence that the intended story is re-read with stability. (From our subsequent work, there is some evidence that there may be two levels here, but the one level fit the current sample and rank-order level of analysis.)

Seven. This is the level of independent reading. The child's eyes are on print and the print is actually tracked. This level, too,

probably has at least two sub-categories. In our subsequent work we have explored the effects of pointing upon children focusing on aspects of reading who can appear to be independent because of their memory for text and the effects of pointing upon children who are fully independent. It appears from preliminary work that these two types of readers respond differently to the pointing requirement. Nevertheless, the one level of independence covers the highest level of children in this sample.

Scoring. Two judges scored all the protocols independently. Scoring was based upon the sources discussed above: dictated stories, re-reading of dictated stories; handwritten stories; re-reading of handwritten stories. One score was given for each pair with a session, handwritten or dictated. An average score was obtained for each session. Agreement was 96% between raters for each of the two sessions.

Results. Following is a frequency listing of the children within each level by session.

	Session One	Session Two
1 - 1.5	5	1
2 - 2.5	2	5
3 - 3.5	3	7
4 - 4.5	4	3
5 - 5.5	4	0
6 - 7.0	6	8

The time between sessions varied from four to six weeks. Rank order correlation between the two sessions was rho = .77, $p < .01$. Since we are concerned with noting fluctuations in behavior that indicate

progress although they appear to be regressions, it is not clear what kind of correlation should be expected. We are working to refine this scale further, to include "fluctuations and regressions," and to include the sub-categories I alluded to, if the data warrant such a change.

The scale, as it currently exists, seems to capture pairs of composing/re-reading behaviors by the 24 children in this sample. It is tied specifically to the kinds of texts composed by the child in dictated and handwritten form. Next we need to examine the form of the children's stories in more detail. In this examination, the told and dictated stories will be compared. Handwritten stories, it will be recalled, were too variable and abbreviated to allow direct comparison as whole compositions.

Comparisons Across Modes

In the two preceeding sections, Children's Knowledges About Writing and Emergent Reading Abilities for Dictated and Handwritten Stories, the children's productions in different language modes have been used in the context of describing emergent writing and reading abilities. In this section, the analyses will focus upon more direct comparisons of modes: telling versus dictating; adaptations toward conversation and writing, and creation of written-language-like texts using the told and dictated modes (see Note 3).

Distinction Between Telling and Dictating

Children's told and dictated stories were transcribed as accurately as possible. Each examiner double-checked her own transcript and a trained assistant checked 44% of the tapes against the typed transcripts of the told and dictated stories.

Children who are asked to tell a story and to dictate a story do the same thing in both instances: they give an orally-produced story. The question in this analysis was whether or not they make a functional distinction between telling and dictating.

Three kinds of evidence of mode distinction were used: narrative description; intonation patterns, and pauses. All evidence was used to yield differences in the child's behavior in the two modes.

Descriptive narrative. The telling and dictating were described holistically. A rater listened to the taped-version and gave a narrative description. An example of such a description is: "The child

dictated very fluently, running all ideas together with no regard for the examiner's writing. She used a conversational intonation." These judgments were compared with judgments made by the original examiner. In case of disagreements, tapes were re-examined until consensus was reached. (These descriptions often included comments about intonation and pauses.)

Intonation patterns. Children use oral patterns like voice-final, voice-rising, and voice-continuant intonation. These patterns can be used as clues to mode distinctions. These intonation patterns were marked wherever they appeared.

Pauses. Fluency of the child's speech was described; all pauses, including unfilled pauses and those that were filled with behavior, such as sounding-out a word or with verbal asides, were noted. All exchanges between the child and examiner were noted.

Results. Twenty-one children produced both told and dictated stories. (One child refused to tell stories; one child refused to dictate stories; and one child produced neither told nor dictated stories.) Of the 21 who produced both kinds of stories, twelve distinguished clearly between dictating and telling as judged by the overall narrative descriptions. These distinctions varied from a child who dictated in a word-by-word fashion and told in a conversational intonation pattern to a child who used sentence-final intonation in dictating but voice-continuant intonation between sentences in telling.

Dictated stories were analyzed to determine whether the overall story or parts of the story sounded like dictation. Fourteen children

(of 22 who dictated = 64%) were judged to sound as if they were dictating for both of their dictated stories. An additional two children (16 = 73%) sounded as if they were dictating on their second, but not first, dictated story. A more thorough description of how children "sound like" they are dictating will be given in the adaptations section.

From these results, it can be concluded that distinguishing between the modes of dictating and telling is well within the abilities of more than half of these five-year-old children. It was argued in Chapter Two that mode distinctions develop from developing knowledges about both oral and written language and that mature language knowledge includes mode distinctions. The next section will examine how the modes of telling and dictation are related to other modes.

Adaptations Toward Conversation and Writing

As discussed in the previous section, it might be expected that told and dictated modes would be treated as exactly the same by the kindergarten child: both appear to be conditions in which a message is told to a listener. However, kindergarten children differ in how close they are to becoming readers and writers, and that emerging language ability may be observed in possible adaptations that they make in producing the two types of stories: told and dictated.

A young language user who is just acquiring literacy may simply tell a story in both modes, without considering the scribe's needs in the dictated mode. Or the child may not be able to proceed to produce an entire story without interaction with the other person; thus s/he may adapt the told or the dictated mode more toward conversation. Or the

young child may begin to learn about the constraints of the handwritten mode and adapt or even over-adapt to the needs of the scribe.

Dictated adaptations. As reported in the last section, 14 children (of 22) sounded as if they were dictating throughout both of their stories. Two more children sounded as if they were dictating on their second dictation. Even more children showed some signs of dictating.

Eighteen children (82%) used some unit-by-unit phrasing in some part of their dictation, thus showing adaptation toward the handwritten mode. Seven of the children used a word-by-word phrasing throughout; this phrasing was keyed to, although not perfectly aligned with, the speed of the scribe's writing. These children were observed to be watching the scribe and/or to be using a list-like intonation or long pauses marking the boundary between words.

Seven other children used variable units (words, phrases, short sentences) as places to pause. They did this without being prompted by the examiner to slow down. Four children slowed their dictation only after prompts by the scribe. Prompts were worded thus: "I can't keep up. Here's where I am." Then the scribe re-read part of the dictation. Of those four children, two finally responded to the prompts only on the second story. These two children then paused in an exaggerated fashion, pausing long periods of time not directly keyed to the scribe's speed of writing. Both of these children maintained an extremely conversational type of discourse throughout the sessions.

In addition to the 18 children who used some unit-by-unit phrasing in dictation, two children sounded as if they were dictating when they

told their stories. These children were very advanced and were already reading to some degree. This adaptation might seem somewhat bizarre but it must be remembered that children were asked to tell and to dictate as "things people do to write a story." Perhaps, for these advanced children, oral language used in the service of written composition should always sound like written language.

Told adaptations. While children were able to signal either entirely or in part that they were dictating, they also maintained elements of conversation within their told and dictated stories. The purpose of this section is to examine the told stories for signs of adaptations of the mode toward conversation, but it should be remembered that these elements also appeared in some of the dictations as well.

In the telling mode, a child is expected to maintain an oral monologue, or to treat the story as an entity with integrity and wholeness. A child is also expected to treat the story as an entity within dictating and writing as well. A child who adapts telling (or other modes) toward conversation is indicating that s/he needs help in creating a self-contained entity.

Twenty-two children produced told stories. Twelve of these 22 children (55%) adapted their story-telling toward conversation in that they engaged in conversational turn-taking characteristics in producing the story.

Two kinds of data were taken from the protocols as evidence for such conversational characteristics. First, six of the children treated the initial directions as if they called for a conversational-turn (cf.

Bereiter & Scardamalia, in press). They began to speak immediately after the directions, as compared with other children who paused to plan before beginning to tell their story. These children gave one brief, contingent utterance and then stopped as if their turn were done. (Like one boy who began just after the directions about how he learned to ride a big wheel, saying quickly and completely, "By watching other people.") These children required an adult prompt to keep going, if they did continue.

A second way in which children adapted toward conversation instead of telling a complete story was to require questions from the adult to keep going. Six additional children required such questions to maintain the discourse. (Additionally, three children were dependent upon the adult to end the discourse. They did not clearly signal to the adult that they were finished. These children were not classified as using turn-taking behavior, however, because that judgment seems to be unjustified, given that they had maintained the discourse up to that final point.)

Adaptations in relation to emergent reading ability. Children did adapt toward written composition and toward conversation in their dictated and told stories. A final analysis was conducted to compare the told and dictated story mode adaptations of children clearly viewed as high or low in emergent reading abilities. Six children were selected in each category. Of the "high" children, four were above the median on three measures (two Emergent Reading Abilities Judgments and the school-administered Metropolitan Readiness Test) and two others were above the

median on two of the three measures. Of the six low children, two were below the median on all three measures and four were below the median on two of the three.

These two groups of children, high and low, were compared in terms of whether or not they adapted their dictation toward handwritten composition and adapted their telling toward conversation. Of the six "high" children, all six adapted their dictation toward handwritten composition, whereas three of the "low" children made such an adaptation. None of the "high" children adapted their telling toward conversation, whereas five of the "low" children did. A chi-square test shows that these frequencies differ from chance significantly, $\underline{X}^2$ (1) = 5.82, $\underline{p}<.02$.

From these results, there is evidence that, for children reared in a literate culture, the two modes of <u>telling</u> for a listener and <u>dictating</u> for a scribe are differentiable and that a large number of children do make such a differentiation. It also appears that the two modes, while capable of being reacted to in exactly the same manner, are interpreted by children as different tasks; furthermore, that this interpretation is predictable, both in terms of "adult" differentiation and in terms of the child's confusions with other related modes. Children tend to adapt the telling toward an interactive interpersonal mode of communicating like conversation. They tend to adapt dictation toward the constraints of handwriting. Furthermore, children lower in reading abilities for their own compositions adapt more toward conversation and children higher in such abilities adapt more toward handwritten composition.

These findings need to be replicated and extended across time with children. We are currently undertaking a longitudinal study using these and similar measures to investigate the change within children across time in terms of adapting language modes.

The analyses used in this section have focused on content-free characteristics of the children's told and dictated stories. Those characteristics include how the child sounded while giving the oral version of both the told and dictated stories. In the section that follows, the told and dictated stories will be examined in terms of how the child presents the content so that it can be comprehended as "written language," language that an absent audience can comprehend, oriented toward the content needs of that audience, and structured the way a reader expects a story to be structured. In this final section, the effects of the real and make-believe distinction will also be examined.

Comparison of Told and Dictated Transcripts

One question to be addressed is how adequately do children create stories that could be judged as successful "written language stories" given their level of development? For a story to be successful as written language requires at least that it be understandable to an audience that cannot ask the composer questions directly. All answers must come from the text, if not explicitly, then implicitly. David Olson (1977) has talked about written text as being different from oral utterances. Text tends to be more explicit and decontextualized, and as such it becomes more understandable to an absent audience.

To apply an analysis to the stories of five-year-old children that was designed for adult text would be to miss degrees of developing knowledges about written language. For that reason, three kinds of analyses were used. The first was a simple judgment by people acquainted with children in this age range. The judgment was one of "understandability," how understandable a child's story is, given that the reader cannot ask the author any questions directly. The second analysis addressed degrees of specification within the text, using a "completeness of context" analysis developed by Menig-Peterson and McCabe (1978) and adapted for this study. A third analysis was a genre-based analysis of the structure of the stories. Each of the three analyses will be introduced in the section that follows and results presented following each introduction. The results of the three analyses will be summarized at the end of this section.

Understandability Analysis

The transcribed text of the children's stories, both told and dictated, were given to two "naive" judges for judgments about understandability. The judges were naive to formal story analyses, but were acquainted with young children. The judges were asked to make paired-comparisons between stories written by the same child. They were to answer the question: "Which of these two stories do I find more understandable, given that I cannot ask the author any questions directly?" Each judge then wrote an explanation of the basis of her judgment.

The purpose of this analysis was to explore whether readers acquainted with the speech of five-year-old children would be able, without an externally-imposed standard, to detect differences in the understandability of stories by these children when these stories were "written" under different conditions. Furthermore, we were interested in the criteria that naive judges would apply in making the decisions about understandability.

The story-pairs were organized into two sets for two kinds of comparisons. Judges first compared the typed transcript of the two told stories by each child. Then they read and compared the typed transcripts of the two dictated stories. The story choice in this case fell between whether the child's real story or the child's make-believe story would be judged more understandable by an absent reading audience.

The second set of comparisons was made by presenting each child's real story pairs for judgment, then each child's make-believe

story pairs. The resulting pairs contained the typed transcripts of the told and dictated stories.

In summary, judges were first to examine story pairs grouped by mode (told and dictated), with the resulting judgment being tallied according to the story topic (real and make-believe). Second, they were to judge story pairs with the topic (real and make-believe) held constant. The judgments in this second comparison was whether the preferred typed transcript would tend to have come from the told or dictated mode. In all cases, judges were told to make a choice then to explain in writing why they chose one story over the other. The explanations were used to check whether or not judges were using comparative understandability as their overall criterion and what criteria naive judges would tend to identify in making such judgments.

Results. Overall, the two judges reported that the task of making understandability judgments made sense to them and that the reasons for many of the choices seemed very obvious. For some of the choices, however, stories seemed either almost identical or to vary in numerous ways. The choice results seem to reflect these informal comments.

Comparison of told and dictated stories. When two naive judges were asked to compare two told stories and judge whether a given child's real or make-believe story was more understandable, the percentage of agreement between the two judges was 95%. When these judges compared the two dictated stories, however, the agreement was only 74%. A test

for the difference between two independent proportions indicated that the percentage of agreement between the two modes, told and dictated, was not statistically different ($z = 1.82$).

There were no significant differences in the frequency with which the real story was preferred over the make-believe story. In the told pairing in which rater agreement was 95%, judges chose the real story 23 out of 40 times, or 58%, only slightly more often than chance. In the dictated pairings where rater agreement was only 74%, raters preferred the real story 17 out of 38 times, or 45%, slightly below chance. The combined results reveal that the real story was chosen 52% of the time.

Comparison of told and dictated stories. When judges compared the two real stories, their percentage of agreement was 76%. When they compared the two dictated stories, the percentage of agreement was 89%. Again, these differences were not significant ($z = 1.08$).

Told stories were preferred in both comparisons, but only slightly more than chance occurrence. In the real comparisons, told stories were preferred 60% of the time. In the make-believe comparison, where there was slightly higher judge agreement, the told story was favored only 53% of the times. The combined preference for the told story was only 56%.

From both sets of comparisons, it seems that neither the mode (told versus dictated) nor topic (real versus make-believe) distinctions differentiated story composition across the sample of five-year-old children in this study to a degree that would be influential to naive judges. Nevertheless, the judges reported that the judgment itself made

sense and that they intuitively had criteria for making such judgments.

Criteria for judgments. Judges were asked, first, to choose between two stories and, second, to write the reason for choosing one story in preference to the other. A content analysis of these explanations reveals that judges did seem to use the overall criterion of understandability. They often gave multiple reasons for a given choice. Three clusters of explanations seemed to capture most of the explanations: topic, wording, and completeness.

Explanations that centered around topic focused on the main idea of the story. Judges used the phrases "the subject" or "what is being talked about" in these explanations.

Example 1: Told has more detail and it stays primarily on the topic of the bike.

Example 2: Dictated story mentions the object big wheel. Told story gives no specific reference to what is being talked about.

Example 3: Stuck more to the topic. R started out OK, but then wandered.

In other explanations, the judges focused on aspects of the wording, or how the child phrased the ideas in the story. One judge used the words "smooth" or "smoother" quite often. When she was asked to explain this response, she indicated she meant that the actual wording sounded more fluent. Other wording explanations mentioned word choices that differed across the pair of stories or flow from sentence to sentence due to wording.

Example 1: Used "guy" instead of "somebody."

Example 2: The sentence structures are much poorer in the MB story. The way it is told makes it difficult to follow. I got very confused. Except for too many "and's" joining the sentences in the R story it was easy to follow.

Example 3: Almost exact same story. Told was worded better.

The explanations that emphasized completeness often referred to aspects of topic and wording; however, the main thrust of these explanations was upon whether or not the story was either a whole unit or a better unit than the other story. Judges seemed to have an intuitive sense that the author should create a whole. These explanations often refer to genre expectations.

Example 1: Neither story is complete and neither makes mention of the object being talked about but the dictated story has a little more detail.

Example 2: The R story was only a single statement. The MB story sounded like a complete story and it was logical and easy to follow.

Example 3: MB is more complete and is more of a story with some action taking place. R seems like it needs more follow-up--what happened then?

Summary of results. Judges who are acquainted with the speech of five-year-old children were asked to judge pairs of written transcripts of stories by a given child. The manipulated variables of mode and topic did not have an effect upon these judgments across all the children in this sample. Judges did have intuitive criteria for making such judgments as indicated by content analysis of their choice explanations. Those criteria include the child's stating and sticking to a topic, expressing himself or herself by clear and well-formed wording, and telling the whole story, being complete as well as clear. The sections that follow were planned to expand upon these informal criteria through structured scoring of these same stories.

Completeness of Context Analysis

When authors write stories, they need to provide readers with enough information to understand what they are writing about. Authors must give information specifically or explicitly enough for readers to extract the message from the text. Unlike the face-to-face interaction of conversation, the author and reader are separated in time and place from one another.

Even in oral interchanges it is often necessary to give a conversational partner contextual orientation. One of these kinds of oral interchanges is when one narrates a past event to a person who did not witness the event. We made use of one tool for analyzing personal narratives developed by Menig-Peterson and McCabe (1978) to study children's developing awareness of the needs of a conversational partner.

Menig-Peterson and McCabe (1978) were concerned with how young children would orient a listener to the content of narratives they told about their own lives. They used two kinds of analyses, one of which was an analysis developed by Labov and Waletsky (1967) which was deemed to be too inclusive for the kind of elicitation procedure and the actual narratives this study elicited, although aspects of their system will be used to elaborate the genre-based analyses. Their second analysis, which they referred to as "completeness of context" will be described below, following a discussion of how their narratives differ from the narratives in this study.

Menig-Peterson and McCabe used more naturalistic procedures and elicited only narratives told to a listener who interacted conversationally with the child. The interactions were well-defined so as not to introduce new material but they were more interactive than our procedures in which the listener did not interact except to say, "anything else," etc. (as detailed in the procedure section).

The actual narratives that Menig-Peterson and McCabe analyzed were chosen as the three longest narratives from among children's responses to a large set of possible elicitations. Actually, they had three categories of responses to prompts: 1) instances in which children did not produce a narrative to a prompt but rather let the topic "die"; 2) instances in which children produced narratives of various lengths; 3) from the second category, the three longest, or most optimum narratives. Since Menig-Peterson and McCabe (1978 and

in press) wanted to elicit optimum narratives and since those narratives were structured as face-to-face interactions, the narratives analyzed by their system differ from our narratives. Our children were told that their goal was to write a story and that all the modes were things that people sometimes did while trying to write a story. While there is no way of knowing precisely in what ways that goal remained in children's memory while doing the task, there is evidence that it was a goal for many of the children, perhaps in terms of how much knowledge they have about written language and how varied that knowledge is.

Furthermore, our topic was given to the children as a direction and had some specification to it. Children were given the topic (or the "what"): big wheel (or bicycle). They were given the protagonist (or "who"): you yourself or Little Prince/Princess Charming. Accompanying the protagonist specification was the further stipulation that the you story had to be real and the LPC story had to be make-believe. Additionally, they were given directions about the content of the "how": tell how you/LPC learned to ride a big wheel. Finally, they were instructed to discuss the "why": what made you/LPC want to do it.

Since Menig-Peterson and McCabe were concerned with children's natural use of specification, they analyzed their narratives in terms of how well children specified information for their listeners that would answer the traditional questions: who, what, when, where, how, and why. For each question, they had a range of specifications that were possible. This range was appropriate to our stories for some,

but not all of the questions, thus the analysis was adapted to fit these stories when it was appropriate.

Two kinds of adaptation were important. First, the interpretation of the relative importance of the six questions was of necessity different. Menig-Peterson and McCabe were interested in answers to all six questions but did not direct children to address any of them (although they did model similar narratives as elicitation probes). While a child could include information addressed to all six questions in the current study, the directions focused children's attention directly on four of the six questions. Those four questions were _who_, _what_, _how_ and _why_. The _where_ and _when_ questions were not alluded to by the examiner although a child could choose to include material giving the location and time context to the audience.

The second kind of adaptation was the scoring system itself. The scoring range had to be changed for two of the questions, _where_ and _what_. In the case of _where_, our protocols included few descriptions of location and the original score range of 0-3 was not appropriate. Hence, a simple yes/no scoring was used for _where_. _What_, however, was more differentiated in our protocols and we increased the score range by one, going from 0-2 to 0-3. In this case, the 2 and 3 scores can be collapsed to be equivalent to Menig-Peterson and McCabe's scoring system.

The range of scores for the two scoring systems are outlined here and will be explained in detail below.

Question	Menig-Peterson and McCabe (1978)	Sulzby
WHO	0-3	0-3
WHERE	0-3	0-1*
WHAT	0-2	0-3*
WHEN	0-2	0-2
HOW	0-2	0-2
WHY	0-1	0-1

Only aspects that differ will be discussed. In places where the two systems are the same except for the topics and its attendant semantic content, the Menig-Peterson and McCabe scoring description will be paraphrased. Where there is a difference that must be acknowledged it will be commented upon.

Who Scoring

Menig-Peterson and McCabe used four degrees of specification of the participants, scor d from 0 for no specification or mention of participants to 3 for full specification. Since the main participant (you or LPC) was given in the directions for this study, the use of "I" for main participant was a problem in specification. Menig-Peterson and McCabe will score a narrative at its lowest level, rather than highest level. I used a "contingent" scoring dependent upon the reasoning relating the directions to creation of an understandable written story. The scoring is also "contingent" in that mention of family members is judged in relation to the specification of the protagonist and other participants.

The exact scoring system used for "who" or participants was as follows:

0 = No mention of participants.

1 = Participants referred to only by indefinite pronouns or by other indefinite reference. Examples: "I," "he," "somebody," "a guy."

2 = Participants adequately specified, with the child providing at least the first names of all the participants, except for "I" and "my dad" and "Sally" and "my friend" for real stories; "He" and "his dad" and "Sally" and "the princess" for make-believe stories. Each of the above examples can stand alone except "I" and "he" which must appear in combination.

3 = Full specification, with all participants imbedded in their relations to the other participants. Here "I" can combine in the "real" condition but "he" or "she" cannot combine in the make-believe condition. Rather, LPC must be specified. Also, "my dad" or "his/her dad" or other immediate family relations can combine for both conditions provided other participants are level 3 specification. A true level 3 would be "my neighbor Sarah" or "the princess's friend David." The specification must be one uninterrupted unit; "my neighbor, I mean, Sarah" is level 2 whereas "my neighbor Sarah" is

level 3.

Order of mention was not penalized in this scoring. "She" later specified as "the Princess Charming" is a 3. Literacy introductions are scored as 3. On the other hand, "the princess" is a 2, but "a prince" or "a princess" is treated as a 3 <u>if</u> it is placed as a literary introduction.

Other examples of literary introductions include the introduction of self as a character in the real condition. "There once was a girl named Anne" is an example. "The mailman" would be an acceptable literary reference in an otherwise specified context if "the mailman" is a side character playing a normal role for mailpersons.

"A friend" would be a general reference as would "his friends" but, if the general context is literary and otherwise specified, the narrative would not be penalized and would be scored as 3.

Thus our scoring system is more contingent and relational. It is also more lenient in that the narrative is scored at its highest level if lower level specifications are clear within the context. A further change is that there is a judgment about "literary conventions." To summarize, the general rules for "who" or participant specification is:

0 = No participants

1 = Pronouns or general words only

2 = Relational but non-specific person words; names without relations.

3 = Clear relations with identifiable specification within the context, either through "fictionalization" or full specification.

Where Scoring

Menig-Peterson and McCabe used a more extensive 0-3 scoring which is not appropriate to the stories in this study since few children specified location at all. Content analysis indicated that a simple 0-1 scoring for presence or absence of location was sufficient. The children who mentioned location were not very specific but used terms consistent with world knowledge about houses, the out-of-doors, and neighborhoods: "ran outside," "down the bump of the deck," "all the way to their house," "around the block," and so forth.

What Scoring

This scoring applied to objects mentioned in the story. Menig-Peterson and McCabe used a 0-2 scoring which I expanded to 0-3 by splitting the highest category into two parts. Also the scoring for these stories was weighed by the degree of specification of big wheel (bicycle), the requested topic. For purposes of these stories, the following system was used, which combined reference to big wheel and other objects.

0 = No reference to "big wheel" or "bicycle" and no other objects by name.

1 = Reference to "big wheel" as "it" or "something." Reference to other objects without mentioning or referring to "big wheel."
For example, the child may refer to "pedals" and/or "brakes" but not to the thing they are part of.

2 = "Big wheel" or "bicycle" is named.
If "big wheel" is not named, then at least two other objects must be named, one of which must not be a part of big wheel.
Examples: "big wheel" alone.
"deck" and "pedals"
"it" and "the deck" and "pedals"

3 = "Big wheel" plus at least one other object. That object may be part of big wheel.
Examples: "big wheel" and "pedals"
"big wheel" and "deck"

When Scoring

Menig-Peterson and McCabe used when as an absolute time placement locating the narrative in the past history of the teller. Primarily, the scoring adapted for this study also uses placement of the narrative in time but time is somewhat more relative. Direct time reference is combined with literary conventions about time reference. Care was taken

so that this scoring would not overlap completely with the "why" or causation scoring, since "when" and "then" relations often signal causal relations.

0 = No time reference except tense or events are only signalled as relation to one another in a simple way (first . . . then). Some of the examples also used verbs or modifiers that placed the narrative out of time, for example, as a procedure or a possible procedure (first you can pedal and then you can push).

1 = General time reference:

"One day" (but not stated in literary form)

"One day I learned." (Compare this with "One day when X" which is specific and would be scored as a 2.)

"When X" or "for two days" or "and the next time . . . and the next time . . . and the next time . . ."

2 = Specific time reference or "literary convention" about time.

Specific:

"When I was four years old . . . "

"The day I went to Mindy's house"

Literary convention:

"Once upon a time"

"Once there was a princess" (only when there is a clear literary wording as opposed to "everyday talk").

Why Scoring

The "why" scoring answers the question "Why did the action take place." In this study, the child was asked to tell "how you/LPC learned to ride a big wheel and what made you want to do it." Other actions or relationships may also be explained in terms of why they happened or the reason "because" they happened. The scoring for causation that was used by Menig-Peterson and McCabe is perfectly suited to this study for it only acknowledges the presence or absence of causal relations. The child is given credit for including causal relations whether or not the child explicitly mentions causal relations or implies them. The implication must, however, be keyed by words in the text. The words "because" and "cause" are important cues but the words "when . . . then" and "first . . . then" often (but not always) are cues to implied causation. When children link clauses together with "and" or do not link them together, causation must be clearly implied by some other means justifiable in the text.

0 = No causal relationship stated or implied

1 = Causal relationship stated or implied

How Scoring

The how category describes the action that takes place in a narrative. This category had to be adjusted to become more specific about the semantic content of the elicited action, learning to ride a big wheel. The 0-2 levels of scoring are numerically the same as and semantically analogous to Menig-Peterson and McCabe's scoring. First

I will discuss some general problems about the specified action, "learning to ride a big wheel."

Learning to ride a big wheel has semantic content that is very specific to a child's point of view. However, that content can still make sense to any audience. For example, the child may state that he had to learn to pedal and steer which seems to specify the action very well. A description which sounds very non-specific may be imbedded in a context that makes it very specific. One child described learning to ride with trainer wheels, taking the trainer wheels off, and then "I just did it." This example was scored as completely understandable to an audience and very specific from the child's point of view. Other actions might not be specified by saying "I just did it" no matter what the context was or a context might be built up that would make saying "I just did it" justifiably scored as comprehensible.

For this study, "How" is scored in terms of learning to ride a big wheel. Samples of stories scored at each of the levels is given below. Notice that the action can be unsuccessful without penalizing the child on specificity of action.

0 = Like Menig-Peterson and McCabe, "confused, such that the listener (or audience) could not understand what occurred." Added for purposes of this study: Or the <u>how</u> of the action is totally missing or includes no reference to learning or planful action related to learning: "I learned how."

Here is an example of no actual planful action and no reference to learning: "she grew . . . then she fitted it . . . then she could ride it."

1 = "Incomplete, or missing important information in terms of the actions that occurred," as Menig-Peterson and McCabe state. The child may give parts of actions without clear specification of what the action is. Examples of this include leaving out reference to learning to ride a big wheel: "I learned to ride something around. I just steered and pedalled." "I sat on it and I pushed."

Or the child may give a complete explanation of how the action took place but presents the explanation in a confusing manner. For example, one child gave a long, repetitive account of how "he, he, he tried to balance it," then far later in the story mentioned "big wheel," without signalling that he recognized his earlier confusing references.

2 = Menig-Peterson and McCabe score a narrative at this level if it is "complete, or fully comprehensible to a listener" (audience). To be complete, the story has to state or clearly imply the requested goal, "learning to ride a big wheel," give actions that make sense in the context, and give some notion of the finale of actions congruent to the plan and goal.

One child stated he wanted to learn to ride a big wheel, his babysitter let him go, and "I tried and I tried and I tried and I learned."

Other examples are given below with goal, action, and finale marked.

> "She wanted to ride a big wheel (goal) and then she pushed (action) and then pretty soon she was riding it. (finale)"
>
> " . . . she probably asked her brother if he would teach her how to ride a big wheel (goal). And he probably said, OK. He, she, he gave her a little spin (action), and she could drive the big wheel. (finale)"
>
> "She learned how to ride her big wheel (goal and finale) with her mother putting her feet on the pedals (action). She moved the pedals round with her feet (action) with her mother helping her (action)."

One other kind of story that would be classified as giving a complete <u>how</u> account are complete (goal, action, finale) accounts that fit the semantic content but are not specific about actions: One girl stated the goal clearly then said that her " . . . brother teached me how and I tried and I did it."

It should be noticed that this scoring penalizes the child who redefines the task (for example, saying "I just learned," then going on to detail other actions very clearly.) There were, however, few children who redefined the task in this way. The clearest case was one girl whose narratives otherwise were also confusing to an absent audience. Her redefined story action, going off and getting married, contained some confusing elements for the new context.

Scoring. Scoring was done by two raters. One person scored all the children's stories for the six categories. That scorer trained a second rater on the first twelve children's stories in each category, then the second scorer completed the scoring independently. The percentages of agreement ranged from 88% for "why" to 96% for both "where" and "how." Disagreements were due to errors in not following the criteria except for "why" in which some disagreements arose over implied causal relationships.

Results. The completeness of analysis scoring system was used to compare overall differents and differences in each of the six scoring categories due to topic (real and make-believe) and or mode (told or dictated). It should be remembered that the six scoring procedures were not standardized to the same metric. Additionally, the scoring system was adapted to fit this study. First I will present results of a repeated-measures analysis of variance (Table 1), then I will present and discuss mean scores for specification of context. Finally, I will compare and contrast these findings with those of Menig-Peterson and McCabe (1978).

Table 1

Specification of Context with Topic, Mode, and Measures as Within-Subjects Repetitions

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Among Individuals	18	184.26	10.24	16.56**
Within Individuals	437	270.11	.62	
Measures	5	218.93	---	
RMB(Topic)	1	.97	.97	9.76**
TD(Mode)	1	.02	.02	<1
M X RMB	5	7.22	1.44	14.56**
M X TD	5	.91	.18	1.85
RMB X TD	1	.05	.05	<1
M X RMB X TD	5	.98	.20	1.99
Remainder	414	41.01	.10	
Total	455	454.37		

**$p<.01$

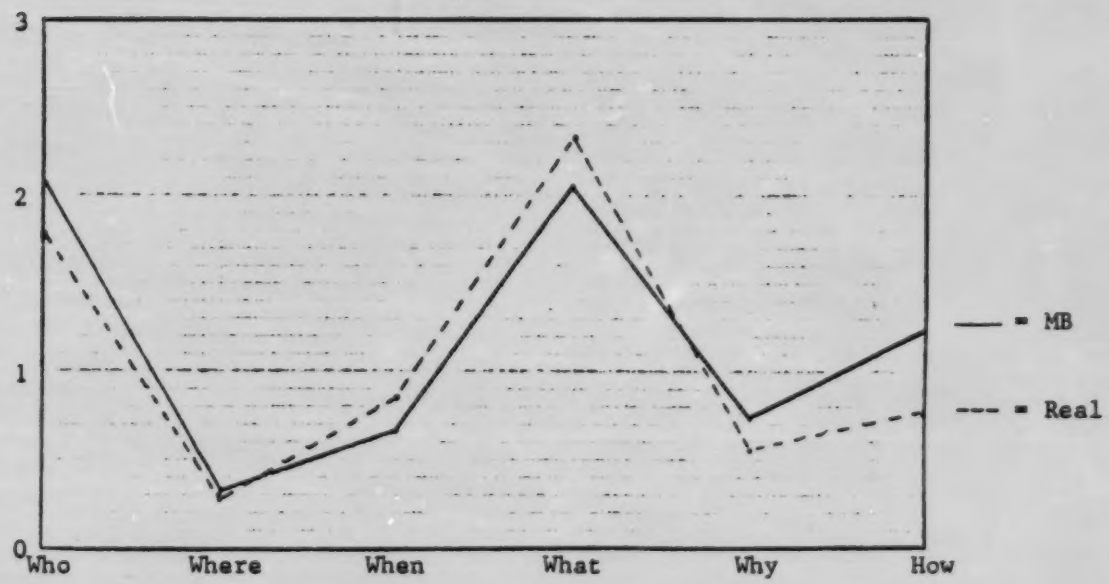
There were significant individual differences in the specificity of context by these five-year-old children. This finding is not surprising and confirms other reports in the literature about the variation found among children at this age level. These differences must be held in mind as we analyze the differences within individuals.

In the analysis of completeness of context, the mode distinctions of telling versus dictating did not result in a significant factor. Children did not differ significantly in how specific they were in providing essential information for their audience in told mode as opposed

to an oral mode. The topic was held constant in this comparison, so it would appear that children held their basic information the same across the two modes.

A further question was whether children always provide basic context-setting information in the same degree of specificity if other factors, like topic, are varied. The topic variation, real versus make-believe, did produce significant differences, both overall and in interaction with the six measures of context specification. (The overall significance of differences among measures was not tested due to the fact that the same metric was not used across the six measures.) The interaction of measures by topic (real and make-believe) is shown as a graph in Figure 1 but the reader must remember that only the difference between pairs of means is comparable; relative size of the means from category to category is not interpretable.

Figure 1
Completeness of Context



The real and make-believe stories generated by these five-year-old children differed overall in how completely the child specified information to answer the basic who, where, when, what, why, and how questions. From the graph of the means, it appears that the make-believe stories tended to provide more specific information about the who, why, and how in the story. Make-believe stories were also slightly more specific about location, where, but so few children specified location at all that these differences should be disregarded. The real stories, on the other hand, were more specific in explaining what the object was and when the event took place.

The who, why, and how specification advantage of make-believe stories partially presents some support for the speculations in the literature (Menig-Peterson & McCabe, in press; Sulzby, 1980a) that fantasy frees up the composer to add features resulting in a better formed story. The who, why, and how scoring includes an introduction of the protagonist (who) as well as the specific goal, attempt and outcome (how). Why scoring is simply an indication that the story contains some signalled causal relations. These elements certainly form the heart of a complete narrative.

The support is only partial, however, because the real stories show an advantage over the make-believe in specifying when the event took place and in specifying objects in the story (what). What was particularly keyed to the main object of the story, the big wheel or bicycle. The age you were when you learned to ride a big wheel or bicycle seems to be very important to people who have only lived a few

years. Age and kind of vehicle are very specific memories so it is possible that these elements are easily retrieved from memory whereas how, for example, may be quite fuzzy. I will return to these speculations after considering the specific overall and category means for this study as compared with those reported by Menig-Peterson and McCabe (1978). Those means are presented in Table 2.

Menig-Peterson and McCabe present data from 96 children, broken into groups of 16 children at each of six age groups from 3½ - 4½ up to 8½ - 9½. The mean age of our children was 5-4 (Range 4-11 to 5-10) in October with the final data collected mid-December. Our overall mean score using the system we adapted from theirs is 6.72 of a possible 12. The mean for their youngest group was 7.52 (range, 7.52 to 9.81) of a possible 13. These means, converted into proportions, indicate that our sample earned approximately 56% of the possible score and their 3½ to 4½ children earned approximately 58%.

In four categories (who, when, why, and how) the means for both were based upon the same range of scores even though the actual standards for scoring were adapted as explained earlier. In Figure 1 those scores were compared directly. To adjust for scoring differences, the where and what means were converted into proportions of the possible scores for the respective scoring system, as shown in the note to Table 2.

Our means by category differ from theirs in that four categories, who, where, what, and how, are lower than the scores of their youngest. Why overall is lower than their 4½ - 5½'s but higher than their youngest group. This is not true when the means for real and make-believe are

Table

Means for Completeness of Context

Category	Real	Make-Believe	Told	Dictated	Average	*Menig-Peterson and McCabe's age group scores
who	1.74	2.08	1.87	1.95	1.91	(1.89, 3½-4½)
where	.24	.29	.24	.27	.26	(1.62,** 3½-4½)
when	.84	.66	.79	.71	.75	(.60, 8½-9½)
what	2.32	2.05	2.21	2.16	2.18	(1.66,** 3½-4½)
why	.55	.71	.71	.56	.63	(.71, 4½-5½; .41, 3½-4½)
how	.76	1.21	.95	1.02	.99	(1.72, 3½-4½)

*Scoring system adapted and different elicitation procedures used in these studies.

**These scores are not comparable. Converted to proportions, where average for this study is 26%; for Menig-Peterson and McCabe, 54% for 3½ - 4½'s. The Sulzby what average is 73% and the Menig-Peterson et al scoring for 3½ - 4½'s is 83% of their possible score.

compared, however. The real mean is lower but the make-believe mean for why is exactly the same as their 4½ to 5½'s. When, in contrast, is higher in this study than the scores for theirs.

In five categories our children scored as low or lower than Menig-Peterson and McCabe's youngest sample. One category, when, exceeds the score of their oldest sample. When is one of the two categories in which our real stories exceeded the make-believe in specifying the context. The age at which children learned to ride a big wheel or a bicycle seemed to be extremely significant in their memories for real-life and showed up frequently, particularly in their real stories. The mean for make-believe (.66), while lower, was also higher than the comparison 8½ - 9½'s.

Genre-based Analysis

The term genre-based analysis has been chosen rather than story analysis even though children in this study were directed to "write a story." Previous research (Applebee, 1978; Glenn & Stein, 1978; Menig-Peterson & McCabe, in press; and Sutton-Smith, 1981) has indicated the young children are quite capable of producing compositions that do not fit the idealized pattern for a "story" even when asked to tell a story. Children's productions may differ in various ways, and indeed they did differ in the corpus children produced for this study. Production variations will be discussed below, along with considerations leading to the analyses used.

As suggested by Menig-Peterson and McCabe (in press), different analyses yield differing results because they address different questions. For instance, story grammar analyses, when applied to children's productions, use predefined units to identify structural aspects within episodes or precursors to the episode; they are structures "seeking themselves" in the output. Deese's dependency analysis, in contrast, locates functional rather than predefined units. The units are independent of genre-considerations. Dependency analysis can be used as a heuristic to discover structure as compared with the grammar which looks for predefined structure. A third kind of analysis, high-point analysis, identifies such features as the importance or meaningfulness a speaker attaches to an aspect of a narrated event. Each analysis has its own usefulness in relation to a question about the nature of a child's production.

The primary genre-based analysis chosen to analyze this corpus was the story grammar, using a production scoring suggested by Glenn and Stein (1978) and elaborated by Stein and Glenn (1981). Their basis analysis was preserved intact for statistical comparisons across told and dictated stories. However, compositions were assigned to their category system by using adjustments based upon considerations about the corpus discussed below. Additionally, other analyses were used descriptively to capture signs of children's knowledges about written language that the grammar ignores.

First, I will describe the general outline of the grammar. Then I will discuss considerations related to this corpus and, finally, I will give details about the scoring system including adaptations based upon the nature of this corpus.

General Outline of the Grammar

The story grammar as described by Stein and Glenn (1981) depicts the ideal structure for an orally-told story. It is primarily composed of two divisions, a setting and an episode structure. The episode is the major unit of analysis and is composed, again ideally, of five parts: the initiating event, the internal response, an attempt, a consequence, and a reaction. There are rules defining when parts can be deleted and the results of such deletions upon the memorability of the story produced. Most of the research in story grammars has used the method of recall to indicate the psychological validity of the grammatical definitions.

Glenn and Stein (1978) and Stein and Glenn (1981) have described the use of the grammar with story productions, using story stems as stimulus items. Their research elicited make-believe stories. This tool has also been used by Menig-Peterson and McCabe to analyze more naturally-occurring narratives told about real events in a child's past. Both sets of researchers conclude that the story grammar successfully measures structural aspects of the productions as predefined by the episode and event structure, although they differ about the relative importance to assign to sub-categories and elaborations within and concerning the structures.

Few children in our corpus produced "ideal" stories, consisting simply of a setting and a single episode. However, I have chosen this example to illustrate the "ideal" episode for the reader; other examples will be given to illustrate other points. It should be noted that in this example the active nature of the attempt must be inferred (and was substantiated by other versions by the child).

Example of a One-Episode Story (Sulzby corpus)

SETTING:	Once upon a time . . .
(elaborated with	there was a girl
literary conventions)	named Prince Charming
INTERNAL RESPONSE:	And she didn't know how
(elaborated)	to ride a big wheel
	And once she wanted
	to ride her big wheel
	But she didn't know how to

INITIATING EVENT:	One day her brother came out and said: Want--do you want some tactics how to ride your big wheel?
ATTEMPT: (abbreviated and inferential)	And her brother taught her how to
CONSEQUENCE:	And she finally knew how to ride her big wheel
REACTION: (with literary convention)	And she kept on riding it round the block. The end.

Compare this example with the perfect balance of a story formed by the idealized grammar, as illustrated by Stein and Glenn (1979 and elsewhere):

Example of a One-Episode Story (Stein and Glenn grammar)

SETTING:	1. Once there was a big grey fish named Albert. 2. He lived in a big icy pond near the edge of a forest.
INITIATING EVENT:	3. One day, Albert was swimming around the pond. 4. Then he spotted a big juicy worm on the top of the water.

INTERNAL RESPONSE:	5. Albert knew how delicious worms tasted.
	6. He wanted to eat that one for his dinner.
ATTEMPT:	7. So he swam very close to the worm.
	8. Then he bit into him.
CONSEQUENCE:	9. Suddenly, Albert was pulled through the water into a boat.
	10. He had been caught by a fisherman.
REACTION:	11. Albert felt sad.
	12. He wished he had been more careful.

While the grammar example or ideal is perfectly balanced and meets definitional requirements, Glenn and Stein (1978) and others admit that children's actual productions vary from the ideal. The claim is, however, that the variation is understandable and not random and that the grammar provides a standard from which a more adequate description of the production structure may be derived. The grammar can thus be used to make comparisons, whether or not it captures all the relevant aspects of children's productions. The nature of this corpus and the conditions under which it was obtained must be considered,

nevertheless, and adaptations made within the grammar that do justice both to the corpus and to the grammar and that allow other researchers to understand the method used here.

The Corpus

The corpus being compared in this analysis consists of 83 "stories," taken from the transcripts. Each child was asked to produce stories under both told and dictated conditions, with both real and make-believe topic directions. Thus each child could have produced four stories for a total of 96 stories from the 24 subjects. In fact, there were 13 instances in which stories were not produced but only one child refused to produce a story at least once under these four sets of conditions. That child's performance was believed to be a valid indicator of her ability. (She produced a handwritten story for the second session, discussed the composition, and attempted to re-read it. Subsequent informal evaluation confirmed that she was at a very early stage of literacy acquisition.)

Three aspects of this study's design bear upon the issue of the appropriateness of the analyses. First, this study is concerned with finding evidence of "written language" knowledges and the story grammar was designed primarily to apply to orally-told stories or re-told oral stories. Second, our directions specified an event in children's memory that was potentially spread out over time, rather than occurring at one memorable occasion. Third, our directions specified some parts of a "story grammar" for a child but did not provide a model for the child to repeat or paraphrase, as have story grammar researchers.

Knowledges about written language can be shown by children in numerous ways, as I have stressed throughout this report. In the corpus of told and dictated stories being compared here, however, that knowledge is particularly evident in three ways. First, children begin to insert literary language, conventional phrases coming from book-like stories. "Once upon a time there was a girl named Prince Charming" is one example already presented. "Once upon a time there lived a princess" (emphasis mine) is even more formal. Here is one child's somewhat abortive attempt to sound like a book. She was starting to read preprimers at the time and dictated with reading intonation.

> Prince Charming's dad helped to learn how to ride
>
> a big wheel.
>
> The owner of the palace was Prince Charming.
>
> A nest laid in a tree in the palace.
>
> That's all.

Another way in which children showed knowledge about written language was in their intonation. (This is discussed at more length in the section on adaptations of modes.) Children would dictate using word-by-word phrasing, staccato-fashion, or they might even use sentence-final intonation, as if reading a grocery list. Others used pauses closely tied to the scribe's speed of writing. These intonation patterns indicate knowledge about how reading sounds to a beginner and about what the demands of handwriting are.

A third sign of knowledge about written language was found in asides children would make during composition. These asides indicate that the child is treating the composition as an entity, with special status. Such asides often were evident by change in intonation as well as content. Here is an example composition with one-second pauses indicated by diagonal marks, examiner's comments in brackets, and examiner's words in parentheses.

I want a bicycle. I'll tell you the same way I
told you the first time for a bicycle. [This
is clearly preface addressed to the examiner.]
My//sister/Mazie
[(Mazie?)]
Yeah, taught///me///
how///to///ride///a///big///wheel
No a bicycle. Erase that.
[Normal conversational prosody on: "No, a bicycle.
Erase that." (///OK.)]
Then///I///learned///
how///to///ride///a///big///wheel.
That's the whole story. [Conversational prosody.]
[Notice he tried to change to bicycle but ended up
with big wheel. He recited it as bicycle later.]

These kinds of knowledges about written language are not directly measured by the story grammar. The semantic content and grammatical structure of the literary language would be scored but the knowledge about reading and writing implied by intonation must be dealt with in adaptations of modes. The third kind of knowledge, that the composition is a special entity that can be commented upon, has been used prior to the application of the grammar when the child was skillful enough to make the distinction clear to the examiner and transcribers. By keeping notes on observations during the sessions as well as making full transcripts we have tried to detect these distinctions between text and comments. Here is an example in which examiner first thought the child was telling a story, then realized the child might be explaining a problem about the story content.

I saw everybody
riding a big wheel
[Long Pause.] Can't think. I don't know anything
more. [Pause]
I was born
and I couldn't hear when I was born. [Then told
examiner couldn't hear when she was born, not until
age 3. Examiner asked if she could remember about
big wheels and she said no. Then examiner asked
about bike: (Do you remember how to ride a bike?)]
Yes.

Well, my babysitter taught me
and he lef go of me
and I kept going
I tried
and tried
and tried
and I learned.
Then I went out
and rode my bike
all the way to their house
and it took a long time

Fortunately, after adjusting the topic, the child was able to complete her story. If the examiner had misinterpreted the statement, "and I couldn't hear when I was born," the resulting "story" would have been scored as poorly structured and hard to comprehend. (Also, the examiner would have failed to comfort the child over her past problem and would have missed important diagnostic information about this girl who had some difficulty abandoning the conversational mode.)

A second consideration regarding the use of the story grammar with this corpus is the nature of the event we asked children to relate, learning to ride a big wheel (bicycle). While there is controversy over exactly what a story is or minimally consists of, there is some evidence that the episodic structure is well within the core of the concept, and may well be prototypical (Policastro, 1981). As Allyssa McCabe [4] has pointed out, the event structure is an important factor, often

reflected in the past tense verb, which serves as a clue to whether or not a discourse can be considered a story, or narrative. There is a change of state at one point in time that marks the beginning of a discrete set of occurrences. Glenn and Stein's fish Albert exists in a pond (his state), when there is a change (a juicy worm wriggles by) and Albert begins an attempt that results in a dire outcome. Menig-Peterson and McCabe's children tell events that happened to them personally at discrete points in time. Their children help butcher hogs, have car accidents, or drench fathers with water.

The incident, learning to ride a big wheel, or some variant like a bicycle or "green machine," was remembered by all of the children. Some of the children remembered the occurrence of learning as a discrete event in time (the day the brother offered some tactics, or the day a cousin came to visit). For other children, however, the event was spread out over time. What had to be decided was whether or not our stimulus precluded the use of more advanced structures by some of the children. From content analysis and application of the grammar to the corpus, I decided that the event was appropriate to episodic narration even when spread over time.

The narratives that do not have the expected verb structure fall into two categories: those that legitimately fall into non-episodic categories of the grammar and those in which the child is <u>planning</u> a possible narrative, using procedural language, rather than actually narrating. Both of these categories can be classified by the grammar since the procedurally-stated narratives nevertheless reflect one of

the primary structures. There were only three compositions that were primarily stated in procedural language. Two of these had an underlying action sequence structure and, for the third, the underlying structure was an incomplete episode. All of the passages children produced could be legitimately placed into the Glenn and Stein categories, by making this adaptation of observing the relations of verb structure, event structure, and function of the passage.

The final design consideration is the content of the directions given to the children. These directions differ from the elicitation procedures used by Glenn and Stein (1978) and by Menig-Peterson and McCabe (1978 and in press). Glenn and Stein give children story starters or stems and ask children to complete the story. Menig-Peterson and McCabe elicited narratives by having the examiner give a brief account ostensibly about her own experience, asking the child if anything similar had ever happened to him or her. The Glenn and Stein stems are designed to be considered as a part of the total production, whereas, Menig-Peterson and McCabe's procedures are designed to elicit a free-standing narrative.

In the current study, the directions specify four potential categories: 1) Setting information (the protagonist is specified); 2) Consequence/Goal information ("how you learned to ride a big wheel"); 3) Internal response information ("what made you want to do it") and 4) Action information ("how you did it"). A child could respond to these directions as if they were part of the narrative, contingently, or could be re-stated by the child to create a free-standing narrative.

One of the primary purposes of this study was to determine the conditions under which children would create a decontextualized written language-like composition as compared with a contingent composition showing signs of an oral language-like interactive mode. That question is addressed by the completeness of context analysis but is also analyzable through the categories of the story grammar. For instance, the setting was often deleted in stories from this corpus. Children often did not introduce the protagonist seemingly because the directions specified the protagonist. Yet other children with advanced knowledge introduced themselves by "fictionalization."

> Once upon a time, once upon a time there was a little girl named Kimberly, K-I-M-B-E-R-L-Y.

In all cases, the child's composition was scored and credit was not given for information in the directions unless the child re-stated the information in some way.

As stated previously, the story grammar system as described in the most recent paper by Stein and Glenn (1981) was judged appropriate for this corpus. Raters had no difficulty agreeing about classifying the compositions into the structural categories which will be described below.

Description of Story Grammar Classification

Stein and Glenn (1981) divide children's orally-told narratives into three types. They call them all stories since they arise as

children's responses to the directive, "tell a story," although it is not clear that these variants necessarily are limited to the story-genre (cf. Menig-Peterson and McCabe's, in press, discussion of the reactive sequence but also cf. Policastro, 1981). The three types are as follows:

(1) Stories which are not organized around a motive resolution sequence;
(2) Stories which contain a single motive resolution sequence; and
(3) Stories which contain more than one motive resolution sequence.

Each type then has sub-categories. For convenience, I have divided the structures into only two parts, pre-episodic and episodic. The examples given come from the corpus.

The pre-episodic structures consist of four categories:

(1) No structure.
(2) Descriptive sequence.
(3) Action sequence.
(4) Reactive sequence.

The episodic structures also consist of four categories:

(5) Incomplete episode.
(6) Simple episode.
(7) Complete episode.
(8) Multiple episode.

No structure. Stein and Glenn (1981) use the category "no structure" both for children who did not produce any statements and for those who produced only one or two statements (the second being just a paraphrase of the first). In the scoring used for this study, a distinction was made between (1a) "No Story" and (1b) "No Structure," but Stein and Glenn's definition was used for "No Structure."

Subject 2, Dictation, Real:

I just pedal and steer.

Descriptive sequence. The descriptive sequence is merely a description of habitual states, acts, surroundings of a protagonist.

Subject 1, Dictation, Real:

I ride on my big wheel so fast.
I ride it slow and fast.
My mommy rides my bike with me
and I color
and I walk outside
and open the garage
and ride my bike.
That's all.

Action sequence. The example given for a descriptive sequence includes actions of the protagonist, but they are not goal-directed. Rather, they are habitual. In contrast, the action sequence may have occasional goals but they are locally attached to actions and are not goals for larger structures. Stein and Glenn compare the action sequence to Schank and Abelson's (1977) script: Sequences of stereotypical actions which may have a sequence but have no discernible specific motive.

Subject 2, Telling, Make-Believe:

Well, one day he just learned

and somebody taught him how to pedal and steer

and that's all.

Reactive sequence. The reactive sequence, according to Stein and Glenn (1981), is still a precursor of the motive sequence.

> [T]here is no planful behavior on the part of the protagonist which would result in the attainment or non-attainment of a goal. Rather, the events related have a beginning and an end and are causally related, but are out of control of the protagonist. (p. 15)

The events seem to happen to the protagonist rather than being actions planned by the protagonist. There is a change of state and a causal relationship between events and results but there's no evidence that the protagonist plans the results.

Subject 16, Dictation, Real:

My mom and dad bought a big wheel for me

and they pushed me on it with my feet on

the pedals

And then I learned how to ride it.

That's all.

Incomplete episode. The incomplete episode contains a goal and implies but doesn't describe planful behavior. Also the consequence may be sketchy and there is no reaction. Basically, it may have a setting, must have either an initiating event or an internal response, lacks an attempt and reaction.

Subject 12, Dictation, Make-Believe:

Once upon a time
there was a girl
named Prince Charming
And she didn't know how to ride a big wheel
And one day her mom came outside
to teach her how to ride a big wheel.
And finally she knew how to ride a big wheel.
The end.

Simple episode. The simple episode adds one component to the incomplete episode, the Attempt. All other options remain the same as for the incomplete episode. The Reaction category is still missing, hindering the simple episode from being complete. Also, the consequence seems to have a more legitimate status.

Subject 5, Telling, Make-Believe:

Well, one time, see, she tried to ride one
and, and, see, and pushed one
tried she [sic].
One time she tried to ride a big wheel
and they pushed
and soon she was riding a little bit
and she pushed
and soon she was riding a little bit
and she pushed

and pushed
and soon she was riding it.
And that's the end.

Complete episode. The complete episode is described as the ideal structure, containing the five parts of the episode, along with a setting. In other words, it consists of Setting, Initiating Event, Internal Response, Attempt, Consequence, and Reaction. From examination of the examples Glenn and Stein (1981) provide, from examination of previous drafts, and from my own corpus, however, it appears that the Setting may still be deleted and either the Initiating Event or the Internal Response may be deleted so long as the goal is clear.

Subject 17, Dictation, Real:

Well, my daddy tried to teach me
and--well, well, you see,
and I learned
and learned
and learned
until I could ride it myself.
So then I started riding it at Grammy's
more and more and more.

Multi-episode. All the episodic structures can be linked and embedded to form larger multi-episode units. Additionally, non-episodic structures may function as elaborations with a descriptive sequence, for

instance, forming an elaborate setting. While this classification is too broad for larger passages, the one category of multi-episode was sufficient for this corpus.

Subject 14, Dictation, Real:

I learn, I learn
when I was 4 years old
and how I learned
The first thing I learned was how to pedal
And then I practiced
and I practiced
end suddenly I just did it
and I got too big for that
so my friend has a 2 wheeler
So I always practiced on it
and I was still 4 years old.
And I didn't have a 2 wheeler just like his
or I didn't even have a bike
And then one day my mom was looking in the paper
and then there was a place
where they wanted to sell a bike
Because they didn't want it anymore
And then we went to go get it
and I'm still 4 years old
And then when I start

my dad put on the training wheels

and then I practiced

and rided my bike

and I learned to keep the training wheels off

the sidewalk

and then my dad took off the training wheels

and then I learned how to ride a 2 wheeler.

That's the end.

Scoring. All stories were classified by an examiner with extensive experience with story grammar scoring. As a check on the scoring, 20% of the stories were used to train a second scorer who then independently scored an additional 25% of the stories. The two examiners agreed about the overall structure of all but one of the stories. That disagreement seems to be due to whether or not one infers a result from the child's wording. Scores were then assigned to the classified stories as described below.

Frequency of structures. All 96 instances were scored, with a score of zero being given for "no story." A score of one was given for "no structure," of two for a descriptive sequence, etc., with the highest score of eight being assigned to multi-episodic stories. Assigning these numbers is not part of the Glenn and Stein procedure but were used for ease of statistical analysis. The scores of zero through eight should be considered as an ordinal scale, even though I am aware of the ubiquity of the reactive sequence. A frequency distribution of the stories is shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Frequency of Story Structures

Structure	Session 1 Told	Session 1 Dictated	Session 2 Told	Session 2 Dictated	Total
No Story	4	5	2	2	13
No Structure	3	2	1	1	7
Descriptive Sequence	0	1	1	2*	4
Action Sequence	4*	3*	11	7	25
Reactive Sequence	4	6	4	8	22
Incomplete Episode	2*	1	1	2	6
Simple Episode	1	1	1	0	3
Complete Episode	4	4	1	0	9
Multi-episode	2	1	2	2	7
Totals	24	24	24	24	96

*Contains one "procedural" narrative.

The distribution of story structures indicates that these stories tend to less complex than those elicited by the story starter method of Glenn and Stein (1978) and even less complex than the narratives elicited by Menig-Peterson and McCabe (in press). As illustration, these percentages are drawn from an early draft of Glenn and Stein (1978) and all episodic structures from that version (incomplete, abbreviated, complete, complex, interactive, complex and interactive, and multiple structures)

have been collapsed as have the episodic structures from this study. Their corpus consisted of 54 stories and ours of 96.

Table 4

Percentage of Structures Produced by Kindergarteners

Structural Type	Glenn and Stein Draft	Sulzby
No structure	15%	21%*
Descriptive sequence	6%	4%
Action sequence	11%	26%
Reactive sequence	13%	23%
All episodic structures	55%	26%

*Contains "no story" and "no structure" categories.

While these percentages are not definitive, they do illustrate the comparative lack of structural complexity in the stories in the current study. This lack of complexity may be due to the specific stimulus idea or due to the added constraints of telling or dictating stories as part of "writing a story." The latter interpretation is indicated, at least for some children emerging toward independence in reading, by the comments made as asides referring to the story as an entity separate from the aside.

Comparison of structural complexity. The structural complexity scores were analyzed using a subjects by measures design. Scores from the Emergent Reading Abilities Judgment (Sulzby, 1981b) were used as a covariate and the regression was not significant. No significant portion of the structure scores is explained by the reading scores ($F = < 1$). Additionally, there were no significant main effects or first order interactions (see Table 5).

Table 5

Topic and Mode Effects on Structural Complexity

Source	df	MS
Among individuals	23	15.02
Within individuals	72	
Topic(DT)	1	.26
Mode(RMB)	1	.26
DT X RMB	1	.51
Residual	69	2.33
DT/S	23	3.91**
RMB/S	23	1.69
Remainder	23	1.38
Total	95	

**This mean square was the only one of these data to produce a significant ($p<.01$) F-ratio.

From these data, it appears that there was no main effect upon structural complexity as measured by the story grammar. However, individual variation appears to be significant and to be related to the mode variable. The interaction of told and dictated by individuals can be interpreted to indicate that some children would have equivalent complexity on told and dictated stories; some would be higher on told and others higher on dictated.

The importance of the mode by subjects interaction is dependent upon the quality of the data, of course. Using the techniques derived from the theory of generalizability (Cronbach, Gleser, Nanda, & Rajaratnam, 1972, p. 23ff.), the reliability of the four different scores for this sample of individuals was calculated to be .85. From these calculations, there is some reassurance that the measurements used have a relatively acceptable level of internal consistency.

A graph of these individual scores was constructed, but no explanation emerged readily from the graph. There were two clusters of children, one group in which the told stories were superior to the dictated and vice versa. There was a mix of children high and low in Emergent Reading Abilities in both groups (as, indeed, the lack of a regression effect for reading would have indicated).

These results will not be probed further at this time but will be considered in later work on individual differences, along with data from longitudinal case studies of children classified as high, moderate, and low in emergent reading abilities now in progress.

Summary, Comparison of Told and Dictated Transcripts

Three kinds of analysis were used to compare told and dictated stories for topic and mode differents upon "written language" related features. Understandability judgments did not capture mode nor topic differences across all the children. (This analysis was not designed to detect individual differences.) It indicated that naive judges acquainted with five-year-olds could compare their stories on relative comprehensibility and that they found three criteria important in making these comparisons: stating and staying on the topic; wording the statements clearly within the story; and completing the story as a self-contained unit.

The completeness of context analysis revealed individual differences. It also reveals overall differences due to topic with make-believe stories being better specified than real stories overall. There were differences due to question type that indicated that make-believe stories, while better specified overall, were not better specified in all categories. They were better specified for who, where, why, and how but real stories were better specified for when and what, two categories that seem very closely tied to important elements in children's actual experiences. Children did not differ significantly in completeness of context across the told and dictated modes within each topic.

While topic differences were apparent when different elements of the story are analyzed separately, as in the completeness of context analysis, those differences were not apparent when the stories were judged as wholes, structurely, using the story grammar. There was also

no measured effect of emergent reading ability. There was some indication of individual differences in structure tied to the mode (told versus dictated) variable. Overall, these stories were structurally less complex than stories elicited by investigators using different elicitation procedures. Those investigators elicited stories as oral stories and we elicited told and dictated stories as things "people do to write a story," or as "written language stories."

Chapter Six

Discussion and Implications

Summary of Results

In Chapter Five, results were discussed briefly as they were presented. It is the purpose of this summary to review major results across the boundaries of the separate studies. Then these results will be used as the basis of a discussion of implications for further research and for instruction and policy.

Writing. These five-year-old children from literate backgrounds came to kindergarten knowing a tremendous amount about writing. Graphically, all the children know how to form some letters. Many know how to form all the alphabet letters.

There is some evidence that they acquire the ability to use handwriting as a result of feature abstraction, rather than direct imitation. This evidence is quite striking when attempts to produce "grown-up writing" are examined. (Evidence from the printing was not reviewed in detail in this study, except as it related to the resources children use to convey complex messages, as in their "story" writing.)

These children were also aware of how writing is displayed graphically on pages. They showed this awareness both in writing somewhat random items and in writing stories. Additionally, they used this awareness to indicate what should get read in storybooks, although when asked to "read" those books or their own stories, children did not always keep their eyes on the print.

Children also have a great amount of knowledge about the communicative function of writing. They all encoded meanings. All children wrote their own names and most children wrote additional items. Most of the isolated items were rendered in conventional orthography.

Most children attempted to write the longer, more complex messages requested in Study II, identified by the examiners as "stories." The children were able to use resources other than conventional orthography to make these attempts. Their writing attempts illustrate relationships between representational systems that have been found in other studies (Clay, 1975; Harste, Burke, & Woodward, in press; and Vygotsky, 1978). They draw; they use "pretend-writing"; they use graphic placeholders; they use invented spellings; and they use conventional orthography.

Children were generally aware of what they could do by conventional standards and when they were using idiosyncratic means, "doing it my own way." They vocalized, made comments, and asked questions while writing so that examiners could observe the composition process and make inferences about children's knowledges.

The young writers were also aware of and sensitive to the effort that writing requires of a beginner. They used the effort required in different ways, such as reverting to a rapid, pretend-writing to encode a complete complex story or laboriously sounding-out a few words, then stopping in fatigue.

The knowledges that children exhibit about their own handwritten compositions can be described. Their actual performances in producing a handwritten composition cannot be compared directly across modes with

dictated and told stories because effort and fatigue interfere with children's ability to write the entire composition. Thus the closest comparisons of written and oral modes comes through the use of the dictated story in which a scribe carries the burden of handwriting. At this point, I will only address the results having to do with using writing to encode a message.

Children varied in their awareness of the needs of the scribe as they dictated their stories. This variation seemed to be related to how close the child was to being able to read independently. Children's dictated stories showed some features of oral language but they also showed awareness of written language. Dictators signalled awareness of the scribe's needs by pausing to allow the scribe to write; they varied in whether or not they paused voluntarily, in how realistic those pauses were, and in whether or not they responded to prompts by the scribe.

In general, these children can be described as having knowledges that are correct by conventional standards and knowledges that are emerging toward the conventional along a logical path based upon features of written language, both in its graphic form and in its function.

Reading. The children in the current studies were emerging in reading ability. Their reading abilities were displayed in four different tasks: re-reading their own conventional writing; "reading" a favorite storybook; re-reading their own handwritten and dictated stories; and editing the handwritten and dictated stories. (Editing was not examined in this report.)

Reading from their own conventional writing was identified in Chapter Five as evidence that children can perform in adult-like conventional ways with reading tasks. It should be noted, however, that the materials read from, because they are lists of items that the child could write conventionally, do not allow for inferences about whether or not the child is reading independently, as defined in this study. The items may be recognized from whole-word form, from letter-sound relationships, or from memory of intended meanings ("my name" as an object, not as a word within a developing concept for word).

In this study, many of the children attempted to read favorite storybooks. Conclusions regarding these attempts must be highly tentative but there is some evidence that these attempts follow identifiable acquisitional patterns and move toward independent reading.

The major thrust of the current study of reading was the examination of children's re-reading of their own handwritten and dictated stories. A scale of Emergent Reading Abilities for these stories was devised and used to measure two different sessions of reading attempts. The scale was able to be used by raters with a high percentage of agreement and two successive applications with different materials showed a relatively high rank-order correlation. Since the theory predicts behaviors that seem to fluctuate or even regress, however, more research is needed to further refine the form of the scale, the expectations regarding its use across time with children, and across children differing even more in emergent reading abilities.

In the various reading attempts and in children's explanations about how one learns to read, children gave evidence of the numerous knowledges that get coordinated as independent reading. These knowledges include how the prosody of reading sounds, what the wording of written languages is like, how words get sounded-out, how memory for words and for entire texts is used, how finger, voice, and print can coordinate, who writes texts, what the reader-audience can expect, what goes into texts, and even why one cannot yet read a given piece of writing.

Knowledges about knowing and learning. The children in the current study responded to a number of interview questions about how they know certain things and learned certain things about reading and writing. Additionally, they volunteered explanations and labels having to do with literacy activities and items. They offered explanations about what they could or might do under certain circumstances and what they yet have to learn. These responses, taken collectively, indicate that children's metalinguistic and metacognitive verbalizations are a rich source of information that should be explored further. One finding that was particularly intriguing was the emphasis by children upon learning in the home as opposed to the school. This finding may be an artifact of the sample choice but it fits with evidence from the retrospective studies of early reading (Clark, 1976; Durkin, 1966).

Topic effects: real versus make-believe. The five-year-old children in these studies were able to distinguish real from make-believe story stems and to produce examples of real and make-believe occurrences.

They also had prior knowledge of the topic, learning to ride a big wheel (bicycle). Yet the effects of real versus make-believe topic upon the children's story composition was evidenced in only one of the analyses, the completeness of context analysis.

The make-believe stories, in contrast to the real stories, were more specific overall in the information that was provided in the story; however, there was also a significant interaction that concerned different aspects of story specificity. The make-believe stories were better specified for the items that comprise the core of a story as described by story grammars: who (the protagonist); why (evidence of logical relations); and how (which included the goal, attempt, and outcome). The real stories were more explicit about when the event took place and what the objects in the story were. These two items seem to be tied to real-world knowledge about the topic, learning to ride a big wheel. For a child, the time when s/he began to ride and the kind of vehicle s/he learned on are salient pieces of information. That information may be less important when the child composes about an unknown, make-believe character.

In spite of these findings of real/make-believe differences as measured by the adapted Menig-Peterson and McCabe (1978) analysis, the story grammar production scoring system (Stein & Glenn, 1981) was not sensitive to these differences in scores assigned on the basis of overall structural complexity. The only effects of structural complexity differences were detected at the level of individual differences in distinguishing between told and dictated stories.

Individual differences and patterns of acquisition. There was evidence in both descriptive analyses and quantitative analyses that individual variation is present within this sample of five-year-old children. There was also evidence of patterns of acquisition emerging toward conventional performance. These patterns were detected across children and within individual children, across the structured series of tasks, and also within the same tasks across time, but more evidence is needed to verify these patterns at the individual level.

Implications for Research

The diagram of the BRDKAWL project on page 9 and comments I have made in the text indicate that some implications for further research have already been drawn and acted upon. First I will describe the 1980-81 leg of the BRDKAWL project then I will suggest further research that needs to be done. My suggestions involve the use of large- and small-sample designs, experimental and descriptive designs and analyses.

Research in progress. During 1980-81 we have continued to work with the same teacher, in the same school and classroom setting. Her morning class comprised a sample of 24 children similar in literacy background to the children in this study. We studied the entire class throughout the year, both observationally in the classroom and by pulling children out for interviews and structured tasks. We selected a subset of the children for intensive case studies of children identified as high, moderate, and low in general emergent reading abilities (not tied to handwritten and dictated stories). I will give a few details

of this study, along with reasons for the design inferred from the studies described in this report.

Longitudinal, intensive design. We decided that we must study the same children over a longer period of time. We also need to study children in far greater detail in more settings over more tasks. Yet we also need to maintain structures that allow inferences back to the theoretical base. So, for 1980-81, we worked in the classroom and also took children from the classroom for our tasks throughout the entire school year. (We will also follow the children into first grade.)

Observational data. From the attempt to sample children's conversation in the 1979-80 study and from all the indications of individual differences and variations, we decided that we needed observation data from the children in the classroom to compare with our structured elicitations. Also, we needed a better description of the literacy environment that the teacher was providing for these children. So we stationed one observer to make narrative written descriptions of the language opportunities the teacher provided in the normal course of instruction on the one day per week that we were in the classroom. The examiners who took children from the classroom also observed each case study child when s/he returned to the classroom. The examiner watched for "natural occurrences" of the language variables of our structured tasks as well as for other behaviors by the child that were relevant to the child's emerging literacy abilities.

Structured tasks. All children in the classroom took part in a revision of Study I, General Knowledges About Written Language, at both the beginning of the school year and the end of the school year. (This design was originally planned for 1979-80 as well but was not possible.) Descriptive data were needed to document the knowledges that children brought to kindergarten and changes in these knowledges over the kindergarten year.

Revisions in the General Knowledges interview due to the 1979-80 findings included moving the conversation sample to the beginning of Study I (and treating all interpersonal language exchanges in the study transcripts as potentially dialogic) and eliciting pretend-readings of favorite storybooks from all children and as sharing an experience with a work of literature. We also sampled audience awareness by asking for topics children and adults would prefer rather than focusing on the more elusive pragmatic language features.

Three other sets of structured tasks were used, in the form of "mini-studies" with the case study sub-sample. Those mini-studies were designed to explore these variables: (1) Topic (real versus make-believe), (2) Audience (child versus adult), and (3) New Event Stimulus. I will not discuss these task sets in this report.

Case studies. From the 1979-80 study, it became evident that differences in emergent reading abilities could be detected using the measures designed for the study. It also was apparent that these informal and more formalized measures needed to be refined by a more intensive look at children who differed greatly in emergent reading

ability. While a cross-sectional comparison was needed, longitudinal data on these same children was also necessary to see if they changed across time in predictable ways. We also had become aware of the importance of individual variation. For all these reasons, the case study approach was chosen for 1980-81, in combination with the large sample "General Knowledges" interview used like a "pre-test/post-test" design.

Planned outcomes. From the data of the 1980-81 study in combination with the data presented in this report, we plan to expand the description of the different knowledges acquired by young children about written language, to test the notion that these various knowledges get coordinated into the three aspects of reading and that these three aspects get used in different ways by different children to become coordinated into independent reading. We plan to describe in greater detail the acquisition of the ability to read one's own handwritten and dictated compositions and to refine the measurement scale described in this report. We also plan to describe individual children as learners and literacy-acquirers, but also as human beings within a human context. An outcome that was not specifically expected but has grown in importance is a description of the teacher's concept of important learning for these children, at both the level of the individual child and of the group as she sees them fitting in a cultural context.

Future research. I believe we need to follow the children until we have documented the transition from pre-reading to independent reading for all the case study children. This documentation needs to take into

account the child's reading of texts of various kinds. For now, we plan to continue with the child's compositions and favorite storybooks and move to include basal readers. Other research could be done by making similar analyses of the supports and demands of other kinds of texts for the beginner.

We also need more data from younger children, both in home contexts and in the various major contexts for child care, like day-care centers, nursery schools, and private homes that "take in" children. We also need data from children who vary in socioeconomic status (like the work of Anderson, Teale, & Estrada, 1980). It is important to study variations across cultures, across tasks, as well as across age groups (cf. Scribner & Cole, in press) in order to determine what differences are real and significant at the group level and/or at the individual level.

I also think we need to put our focus on literacy acquisition whether or not we are primarily interested in researching reading or writing. With my emphasis on reading, I could overlook important aspects of acquisition if I ignored writing. I will mention two important areas where comparative research is needed: phonetic segmentation and sentence segmentation. In each of these areas children provide data that differs in richness. It should be tested to see if indeed it differs in kind. Children "sound-out" to different degrees in segmenting to spell words in written form than they do when they read. In writing sentences using invented spelling, they signal sentence segmentation that they do not necessarily show graphically. Their

re-reading often indicates a different voice-print match than they indicated in encoding to spelling. The notion of word stability seems to be different in writing and in reading for some young reader-writers.

I believe the field of reading continues to need experimental research with stringent controls but this research must be based upon informed theory or grounded theory. One way in which experimental research has been handicapped has been in not having measures of reading comprehension that measure "as early as" measures of word recognition or letter-sound relationships. If more naturalistic exploratory research can develop tools and information that informs experimental research, experimental research can help test and develop the theories concerning early literacy development.

Implications for Instruction and Policy

The implications for instruction that I draw from this research are rather direct. Children bring a great amount of knowledge about reading and writing to their first encounters with instruction. Teachers should (1) let children show them what they can do, (2) listen to what children say about what they can and can't yet do, and (3) continue to encourage exploration with writing and with books. If teachers use formal instructional materials, they need to consider the fit of those materials to the individual child's developing knowledges about literacy.

Teachers also need to be aware of the amount of variation even within children like the ones in this study who come from literate backgrounds. Teachers need to look below the surface of the child's

behaviors to try to see what the behaviors reveal about developing knowledges of reading and writing. Exploring the child's behaviors for their underlying principles will aid the teacher in adjusting on-going classroom opportunities; looking at the surface behaviors alone might lead to premature diagnosis, prescription, and labeling of a child as high risk who is simply taking one of the developmental paths toward literacy.

The implications for policy are two-fold. The first policy implication is directed toward curriculum planners at various levels; the second concerns support for continued research.

For curriculum planners, the push "back to the basics" is important if we acknowledge that the basics of reading and writing develop within children. This research reveals the range and importance of the knowledges about reading and writing that one sample of children bring to school with them. Other researchers cited in this report give evidence of such early "basics" developing in children of differing backgrounds. Other researchers around the world whose work I have not reported are producing further evidence of children with yet greater variation (DeStefano and King in Ohio; Downing in Canada; McKenzie and Wells in England; Ferreiro in Mexico, to name a few).

Curriculum planners cannot afford to ignore the knowledges that children bring to school. Programs for pre-school, kindergarten, and first grade need to be responsive both to what the child already knows and what the child is trying to do in reading and writing. These programs should also be planned with the child as a self-regulated learner

as a goal. Bloom's work with early development and the effects of Mastery Learning and Feuerstein's programs designed for cognitive modifiability are examples of programs designed to meet the child at the child's instructional level. The further thrust of these kinds of programs is to match the child's efforts with adult interaction in such a way that the child is changed as a learner to become more self-regulated. This is the kind of program of instruction that Holdaway in New Zealand has used to support, encourage, and develop self-regulation in young readers.

These comments imply that the task for the curriculum planner is to design ways that teachers can come to know children's level of development and how to match that level. The further implication from the research is that no one sequence nor one approach will be best: sequence and technique must be determined by the child's level. So curriculum planners need to think less about materials design and more of ways to educate the teacher about children's literacy acquisition and ways to free the teacher to respond to the child's needs.

The second policy implication concerns support for research. In Chapter Two, I discussed the need for a data base that would be rich and well-planned enough to be used for theory building and theory testing. Research of this sort is human-intensive and requires many resources. Yet cheaper, cleaner research in early reading and writing is not appropriate yet. Earlier studies that ignored parts of the process led to results that were uninterpretable, either as

good psychology or as good educational practice.

Policy-makers face a decision about what quality of research (as well as instruction) they will support and what outcomes they can expect. This line of research is humanistically-based. The pay-off or kinds of unit of analysis will probably not be direct increments on standardized tests as they exist today. The measurement tools are emerging from the research (as illustrated in this paper). Again, the cost in human-effort is high at the research level (and at the teaching level).

My position is that policy-makers must examine the kinds of learners that the child care centers, public schools, and private schools produce. In order to do this, they must know more about the kinds of learners the home produces and the fit between school and home. Heath's (1980 and forthcoming) anthropological study of early literacy in the Piedmont area is an example of research that examined the fit between the home language and the school language of two groups of children having difficulty in reading achievement. Her work culminated in an effective intervention, involving both parents and teachers. Her work was labor- and time-intensive but resulted in an effective, specific intervention that could not have been done based upon our knowledge of literacy acquisition prior to her exploration of the human language data base.

Policy needs to be based upon all possible information. Lacking a theoretically-oriented data base in early reading and writing acquisition, policy-makers will make uninformed decisions. Thus there

is a need for continued support for research in early reading and writing that begins early and looks at children in-depth across time.

Summary. This report outlines a theory about early reading acquisition that has emerged from data on what children know about reading and writing prior to instruction. It describes knowledges about written language as they were demonstrated by a sample of 24 kindergarten children from literate backgrounds. It also explores effects due to story topic and language modes. Finally, it concludes with a discussion of the results, a description of related research, and recommendations for research, practice, and policy.

Footnotes

This report is presented to the Research Committee of the National Council of Teachers of English. Comments and questions about the content may be addressed to the author, Dr. Elizabeth Sulzby, School of Education, Northwestern University, 2003 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois 60201.

[1]The school district prohibits identification of itself, personnel, or clients. All names used for the children are fictitious.

[2]In this paper I refer to memory for text as an important development for the young child. Treating a linguistic unit of text size as an entity enables the child to reflect upon it, to change it, and to use it in complex tasks like matching voice to print. This is the phenomenon that is often dismissed as, "He's not reading. He's just got it memorized."

[3]The data on the Emergent Reading Abilities Judgments, Distinction Between Telling and Dictating, and Adaptations Toward Telling and Dictating were presented in a paper given at the American Educational Research Association, Los Angeles, April 1981. The paper title is "When Kindergarteners Read and Write: Focus Upon Told and Dictated Story Characteristics."

[4]Allyssa McCabe was generous in sharing the draft copy of Menig-Peterson and McCabe (in press) and also in discussing issues relating to children's discourse productions. This comment about tense was part of an oral discussion but was helpful in understanding the relationship between event, tense, and text structure. James Deese and Beth Wetmore also gave helpful suggestions about how text analyses may be adapted to children's productions. Those suggestions are reflected throughout this section of the report.

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EXAMINER'S GUIDE

BEGINNING READERS' DEVELOPING KNOWLEDGES ABOUT WRITTEN LANGUAGE

Elizabeth Sulzby, P.I.

Northwestern University, 1979-80

1. General Directions to Study I and Study II.
2. Session 1: Study I, General Knowledges About Writing and Reading.
   READ THE PURPOSES CAREFULLY TO YOURSELF.
   FOLLOW THE SCRIPT IN LIGHT OF THOSE PURPOSES.
3. Sessions 2 & 3 (repeated sessions): Study II, Real and Make-Believe Topic. THREE TASKS (TELLING: DICTATING, RE-READING, & EDITING; WRITING, RE-READING, & EDITING). These tasks will be in different order for each child. BE CERTAIN THAT YOU HAVE THE C O R R E C T ORDER FOR THE CHILD YOU ARE WORKING WITH. Labels on folders and folder contents should match.

Directions in regular type like this are to be followed but not read to the child. DIRECTIONS IN ALL CAPS ARE TO BE READ TO THE CHILD! The examiner is to follow up the child's responses with probes, but all probes and answers are to be recorded. Behavioral indications (like pointing, frowning, looking away from print, looking at print, etc., are to be noted by the examiner at the time they happen, directly on the child's protocol sheets).

General Directions

The examiner should check to be certain that s/he has all materials and knows which condition child is in (for Sessions 2 and 3). Each child will have a folder with his or her materials inside it. The contents of the folder should match the order of tasks written outside the folder (for example: John, TASK ORDER: Dictating, 2. Writing, 3. Telling; inside John's folder would be sheets for Session 1 (General and Talking) and for Sessions 2 and 3 (Dictating, Writing, Telling--in that order). O N L Y materials for session 2 and 3 will be varied in order so O N L Y those tasks are written on the outside of the folder, after the words TASK ORDER.

A L S O on the outside of the folder is GROUP. Group indicates whether child gets real/make-believe or make-believe/real for Session 2 and which s/h3 gets for Session 3. ESTABLISHING RAPPORT. When you go to the classroom, wait until the teacher says the child may come with you. Then take enough time re-introducing self and getting child talking about self, etc., so that the child is at ease. You can do this while walking to your station. Goal is two-fold: To have the child at ease and to get the child doing actual task as soon as possible. Getting child occupied will help put him/her at ease more than interrogation so be purposive. Introduce tape-recorder but don't exaggerate its importance. Just say you need it because you can't write fast enough to get down everything WE say and you want to remember everything. You can let child listen to a little bit before or after first session (preferably after).

SESSION 1 - General Directions

To the examiner:

Materials: For this task, you will need these materials for the child:

Pencil

Paper

Crayons

Book

You will need these materials for yourself:

Tape recorder set to record

Child's folder (previously checked)

Paper

Pencil

Purpose: First purpose of the task (General Knowledges) is to find out what the child already can DO in writing and in reading.

Second purpose is to find out what the child knows or is beginning to learn about writing and reading. Thus we ask the child to pretend to read or to write, to tell us how grown-ups do it, to tell us what they would have to learn to be able to read and to write. This part of the interview the examiner should structure by following the child's lead. Only essential questions are on the protocol sheet. Examiner should ADD questions and then transcribe the ENTIRE interview.

SCRIPT

Session 1: General Knowledges About Writing and Reading Interviews Schedule

Use each page for behavioral descriptions (movements, comments, line of regard, etc.). Attach child's work after relevant pages.

Writing Interview (Questions 1-3).

YOU HAVE ALREADY LEARNED SOMETHING ABOUT WRITING AND READING, THINGS AT HOME AND AT SCHOOL. I WANT YOU TO SHOW ME WHAT YOU CAN DO AND TELL ME ABOUT WHAT YOU KNOW.

1. WHAT CAN YOU WRITE?

   (Pause for response. If response is only verbal, then say:)

   SHOW ME. (Try. Pretend).

   WHAT'S THAT:

   HOW DID YOU KNOW WHAT THAT WAS?

   HOW DID YOU LEARN THAT?

2. WHAT ELSE CAN YOU WRITE?

   (WHAT'S THAT? HOW DID YOU KNOW WHAT THAT WAS? HOW DID YOU LEARN THAT?)

3. Other questions asked and responses--record ones used:

   (How do grown-ups write? Show me. How did grown-ups learn how to write? How do you learn?)

Transition from Writing to Reading (Questions 4 and 5)

4. EXAMPLE OF CHILD'S READING ATTEMPT FROM OWN WRITING:

Get child to "read" anything she/he has written if at all possible, then say:

HEY, YOU ARE GETTING SO THAT YOU CAN READ WHAT YOU WRITE!

(Optional wording for children who don't show any evidence of reading their writing. IT WON'T BE LONG UNTIL YOU CAN READ WHAT YOU WRITE.)

HOW DO (WILL) YOU DO THAT? HOW DO (WILL) YOU READ?

(How do people read?)

WHAT ELSE CAN YOU READ?

5. HOW DID YOU/DO PEOPLE LEARN TO READ?

(Use you if child reads, people if not: circle one used.)

WHAT DO YOU/DO PEOPLE NEED SO THAT YOU CAN READ?

WHY IS THAT?

OTHER COMMENTS FROM THIS PART OF TASK:

Reading Interview (Question 6).

6. Give child the book and ask him/her to show it to you, getting all information you can observe casually before begin questioning. Record entire conversation:

THAT'S A NICE BOOK. SHOW ME THE BOOK, ALL THAT YOU CAN. (If child begins reading, note all behaviors relevent to book knowledge, such as handling, directionality, etc. If not, quiz like so:)

6a.	What part is this? (cover)	What do you do with it? What's it for? (etc.)
6b.	This? (pages)	What do you do with them? What's it for?
6c.	This? (picture)	What do you do with it? What's it for?
6d.	This? (print)	What do you do with it? What's it for?

Script for Conversation Sample; Prior Knowledge About Real and Make-Believe Stories, and Pilot Interview About Child and Adult Audiences. This script is in two parts. The first part contains full wording for examiner. The second part includes abbreviated wording with other instructions for administering the section. The second part was used.

Conversation Sample (Question A)

PURPOSE: First: to get a sample of the child's conversation face-to-face with another person. Second: to get information from the child about topic: his or her knowledge about things that could (real) or could not happen (make-believe). Third (pilot): get data based on child's awareness about audience.

(First, get conversation going about child's favorite story. Follow child's lead. Then:) LET ME TELL YOU PART OF A STORY.

Prior Knowledge About Real and Make-Believe Stories (Question Set B)

Question B(1) and (2).

YOU KNOW, (child's name), THIS MORNING I GOT UP AND LOOKED OUT THE WINDOW AND I SAW A BIG, GREEN DRAGON FLYING RIGHT AT ME. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT? (Pause for response) NO, THAT WAS JUST MAKE-BELIEVE. THAT COULDN'T REALLY HAPPEN. WHAT ABOUT THIS: WOULD YOU BELIEVE THIS: THIS MORNING I GOT UP AND LOOKED OUT THE WINDOW AND SAW A TREE WITH PRETTY LEAVES? WOULD THAT BE REAL OR MAKE-BELIEVE, DO YOU THINK? (Pause) SURE, THAT COULD REALLY HAPPEN - THAT'S REAL.

(More talk about real/make-believe or go right into Question B(2)).
THAT REALLY COULDN'T HAVE HAPPENED TO ME, THAT DRAGON? WHAT THINGS COULD REALLY HAPPEN TO YOU, TO A BOY OR A GIRL YOUR AGE? (Get about three instances.)

(follow up child's comments C O N V E R S A T I O N A L L Y)
(End with: COULD A BOY OR GIRL LEARN HOW TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL, WOULD THAT BE REAL?)

Question B(4)
WHAT KINDS OF THINGS COULDN'T REALLY HAPPEN, SOME MAKE-BELIEVE THINGS?
(Get about three instances.)
(Finally end with, if child doesn't mention:)
COULD YOU MEET A GIANT MONSTER, COULD A BOY OR GIRL MEET A GIANT MONSTER? WOULD THAT BE REAL OR MAKE-BELIEVE?

Pilot Interview About Child and Adult Audiences (Question Set C)

Examiner should feel free to improvise to try to get at the child's concepts about audience. All improvising should be recorded fully, along with examiner's assessment of how successful the technique was.

YOU ARE PRETTY GOOD, THERE, (child's name). YOU KNOW LOTS OF THINGS ABOUT MAKE-BELIEVE AND REAL THINGS, THINGS THAT COULDN'T HAPPEN AND THINGS THAT COULD HAPPEN.

YOU ARE GOOD AT TALKING TO OTHER PEOPLE, LIKE ME. HOW ABOUT KIDS LOTS SMALLER THAN YOU? DO YOU KNOW HOW TO TALK TO THEM?

SHOW ME: TELL A LITTLE KID ABOUT THAT DRAGON. (PRETEND) HOW ABOUT GROWN-UPS? DO YOU KNOW HOW TO TALK TO THEM?

SHOW ME: TELL A GROWN-UP ABOUT THAT DRAGON. (PRETEND) WHAT'S DIFFERENT ABOUT TALKING TO LITTLE KIDS THAN GROWN-UPS?

(Child's name), YOU'VE REALLY HELPED ME A LOT. YOU HAVE LEARNED A LOT ABOUT WRITING AND READING AND YOU KNOW A LOT ABOUT REAL AND MAKE-BELIEVE THINGS. I BET YOU TELL GOOD STORIES TOO. DO YOU LIKE STORIES?

Protocol

Child's first name _____ Examiner's Initials _____

Date _____

A. (Conversation Sample) See examiner's guide for full script. GET FREE-FLOWING CONVERSATION GOING ABOUT FAVORITE STORY. RECORD ON ATTACHED PAGE.

B. (Prior Knowledge About Real and Make-Believe)

1) . . . dragon . . . WOULD THAT BE REAL?

2) . . . tree . . . WOULD THAT BE REAL?

3) Three instances of things that could really happen:

BIG WHEEL?

4) Three instances of things that couldn't really happen:

GIANT MONSTER?

Protocol

CHILD _____ EXAMINER _____ DATE _____

C. (Pilot Interview About Child and Adult Audiences) This page is pilot information, record fully how you improvised when you do and also information about when you decided it was futile to push further (especially your impression about why it was futile).

1. How do you talk to little children?

Show me?

2. How do you talk to grown-ups?

Show me?

3. What's different?

4. Reactions to question about liking stories:

SESSION 2 & SESSION 3 - General Directions

These sessions are just two repeated sessions (see GROUP).

The TASK ORDER varies from child to child so check TASK ORDER (TELLING, DICTATING, WRITING) and GROUP (REAL/MAKE-BELIEVE vs. MAKE-BELIEVE/REAL).

Purpose is to get three samples from the child: 1) telling a story about a specific topic; 2) dictating story under same conditions; 3) writing story under same conditions. For both writing and dictating tasks the child re-reads and edits. See directions about purpose of these tasks and standards to use.

Directions are written so that it should not matter which task comes first, but the examiner should embellish the "getting settled" part of the directions so that the flow from one task to another makes some sense to the child.

GENERAL directions go here.

I WANT YOU TO WRITE A STORY FOR ME. WE WILL DO IT THREE WAYS. NOW I KNOW YOU DON'T REALLY KNOW HOW TO WRITE LIKE A GROWN-UP YET BUT YOU KNOW A LOT ABOUT WRITING. I'LL HELP YOU.

T E L L I N G

ONE OF THE THINGS PEOPLE DO TO WRITE A STORY IS TO TELL IT TO SOMEONE FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE END TO BE SURE THEY HAVE IT THE WAY THEY WANT

IT TO BE. SO THAT'S WHAT I WANT YOU TO DO NOW. (Turn to face the child.)

TELL ME YOUR STORY, YOUR WHOLE STORY FROM BEGINNING TO END.

REAL: I WANT YOU TO TELL ME YOUR STORY AND IT'S A <u>REAL</u> STORY ABOUT YOU.

THE STORY IS ABOUT HOW <u>YOU</u> LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL

ABOUT HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL

WHAT MADE YOU WANT TO DO IT
and
HOW YOU DID IT.

THAT WILL BE A SUPER GOOD STORY. NOW TELL ME YOUR STORY AND REMEMBER IT'S A <u>REAL</u> STORY ABOUT <u>YOU</u>.

MAKE-BELIEVE: I WANT YOU TO TELL ME YOUR STORY AND IT'S A <u>MAKE-BELIEVE</u> STORY ABOUT--

Girls get "Princess" and "she" and boys get "Prince" and "he" wording.

OH, LET'S SEE--IT'S ABOUT "<u>LITTLE PRINCE CHARMING</u>" AND HOW <u>HE</u> LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL; ABOUT "<u>LITTLE PRINCESS CHARMING</u>" AND HOW <u>SHE</u> LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL.

ABOUT HOW HE/SHE LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL

WHAT MADE HIM/HER WANT TO DO IT
and
HOW HE/SHE DID IT.

THAT WILL BE A SUPER GOOD STORY. NOW TELL ME YOUR STORY AND REMEMBER IT'S A <u>MAKE-BELIEVE</u> STORY ABOUT "LITTLE PRINCE/PRINCESS CHARMING."

NOW, YOU TELL ME THE WHOLE STORY, JUST THE WAY YOU WANT IT TO BE FROM BEGINNING TO END. REMEMBER IT IS ABOUT _____.

D I C T A T I N G

ONE OF THE THINGS PEOPLE CAN DO TO WRITE A STORY IS TO LET SOMEONE ELSE WRITE IT DOWN FOR THEM. THAT'S LIKE HAVING A SECRETARY. WE CALL IT DICTATING WHEN YOU TELL YOUR STORY AND SOMEONE ELSE WRITES IT DOWN FOR YOU.

I WANT YOU TO DICTATE YOUR STORY FOR ME THIS TIME. (Can you say dictating? Good. I want you to dictate this time--I'll write down your story for you.)

SEE, HERE'S MY PAPER AND PENCIL.

NOW, YOU DICTATE THE WHOLE STORY TO ME, JUST THE WAY YOU WANT IT TO BE FROM BEGINNING TO END.

REAL: I WANT YOU TO DICTATE YOUR STORY TO ME AND IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU.

THE STORY IS ABOUT HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL.

ABOUT HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL.

WHAT MADE YOU WANT TO DO IT
and
HOW YOU DID IT.

THAT WILL BE A SUPER GOOD STORY. NOW DICTATE YOUR STORY AND REMEMBER IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU.

MAKE-BELIEVE: I WANT YOU TO DICTATE YOUR STORY TO ME AND IT'S A MAKE-BELIEVE STORY ABOUT--

Girls get "Princess" and "she" and boys get "Prince" and "he" wording.

OH, LET'S SEE--IT'S ABOUT "LITTLE PRINCE CHARMING" AND HOW HE LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL; ABOUT "LITTLE PRINCESS CHARMING" AND HOW SHE LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL.

ABOUT HOW HE/SHE LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL

WHAT MADE HIM/HER WANT TO DO IT
and
HOW HE/SHE DID IT.

THAT WILL BE A SUPER GOOD STORY. NOW DICTATE YOUR STORY TO ME AND REMEMBER IT'S A MAKE-BELIEVE STORY ABOUT "LITTLE PRINCE/PRINCESS CHARMING."

After the child has dictated, ask for re-reading and editing.

R E - R E A D I N G O F D I C T A T I O N

GOOD JOB. NOW I WANT YOU TO READ BACK YOUR STORY TO SEE IF IT IS JUST LIKE YOU WANT IT TO BE. (Write down any responses about reading and follow the child's reasoning along with open-ended probes. Record all information in detail.)

I CAN HELP YOU. Give aid beginning with as little as possible--if child cannot begin at all, choral-read with the child then gradually fade out.

NOTICE that child may remember the story.

MAKE NOTE OF all behavioral indications such as the child's reciting the story correctly without attending to print, the child's reciting the story looking occasionally at print, etc. Be specific in your notes. (Ex., child looked at print up to end of first sentence, then began looking at examiner, except for word "elephant" when glanced back at page--not able to tell where focusing.)

E D I T I N G O F D I C T A T I O N

Ask the child to make judgments about parts of the story if he or she did not make any voluntary editing. Always indicate when editing is voluntary (VOL).

Sample questions (be sure to embellish with enough questions to sample reading--see notes at the end: "Standards for sampling reading").

IS THE STORY JUST THE WAY YOU WANT IT?

HOW ABOUT THIS PART? IS IT LIKE YOU WANT IT? WHY?

HOW ELSE COULD YOU HAVE MADE IT?

WHAT PART WOULD THAT CHANGE?

SHOW ME.

Standards for sampling reading:

Continue questioning until you get at least two indications of:
(Summarize those indications on protocol sheet.)

1. Word Stability:

2. Letter/Sound relationships:

3. Comprehension:

W R I T I N G

SOMETIMES WHEN PEOPLE WRITE A STORY THEY DO THE WRITING ON PAPER ALL BY THEMSELVES. EVEN LITTLE BOYS AND GIRLS CAN WRITE THEIR OWN STORIES. YOU CAN WRITE AND MAKE UP YOUR OWN STORY FOR ME YOUR OWN WAY. IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE JUST LIKE GROWN-UP WRITING. YOU CAN JUST DO IT YOUR WAY.

REAL: I WANT YOU TO WRITE ME YOUR STORY AND IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU.

THE STORY IS ABOUT HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL.

ABOUT HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL

WHAT MADE YOU WANT TO DO IT
and
HOW YOU DID IT.

THAT WILL BE A SUPER GOOD STORY. NOW WRITE ME YOUR STORY AND REMEMBER IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU.

MAKE-BELIEVE: I WANT YOU TO WRITE ME A STORY AND IT'S A MAKE-BELIEVE STORY ABOUT--

Girls get "Princess" and "she" and boys get "Prince" and "he" wording.

OH, LET'S SEE--IT'S ABOUT "LITTLE PRINCE CHARMING" AND HOW HE LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL; ABOUT "LITTLE PRINCESS CHARMING" AND HOW SHE LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL.

ABOUT HOW HE/SHE LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL

WHAT MADE HIM/HER WANT TO DO IT
and
HOW HE/SHE DID IT.

THAT WILL BE A SUPER GOOD STORY. NOW WRITE ME YOUR STORY AND REMEMBER IT S A MAKE-BELIEVE STORY ABOUT "LITTLE PRINCE/PRINCESS CHARMING."

NOW, YOU WRITE THE WHOLE STORY, JUST THE WAY YOU WANT IT FROM BEGINNING TO END. REMEMBER IT IS ABOUT _____.

After the child has written, ask for re-reading and editing.

R E - R E A D I N G O F W R I T I N G

GOOD JOB. NOW I WANT YOU TO READ BACK YOUR STORY TO SEE IF IT IS JUST LIKE YOU WANT IT TO BE. (Write down any responses about reading and follow the child's reasoning along with open-ended probes. Record all information in detail.)

I CAN HELP YOU. Give aid beginning with as little as possible--if child cannot begin at all, choral-read with the child then gradually fade out.

NOTICE that child may remember the story.

MAKE NOTE of all behavioral indications such as the child's reciting the story correctly without attending to print, the child's reciting the story looking occasionally at print, etc. Be specific in your notes. (Example, child looked at print up to end of first sentence, then began looking at examiner, except for word elephant when glanced back at page--not able to tell where she was focusing, however.)

E D I T I N G O F W R I T I N G

Ask the child to make judgments about parts of the story if he or she did not make any voluntary editing changes. Always indicate when editing is voluntary (VOL).

Sample questions (be sure to embellish with enough questions to sample reading--see notes at the end: "Standards for sampling reading").

IS THE STORY JUST THE WAY YOU WANT IT?

HOW ABOUT THIS PART? IS IT LIKE YOU WANT IT? WHY?

HOW ELSE COULD YOU HAVE MADE IT?

(You can give choices, if child doesn't volunteer any, but indicate choices given, etc.)

WHAT PART WOULD THAT CHANGE?

SHOW ME.

Standards for Sampling Reading:

Continue above kinds of questioning until you get at least two indications of: (Summarize those indications on protocol sheet.)

1. Word stability:

2. Letter/Sound relationships:

3. Comprehension: